

THE SATURDAY REVIEW

POLITICS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

No. 900, Vol. 35.

January 25, 1873.

[Registered for
Transmission abroad.]

Price 6d.

GENERAL GRANT'S FOREIGN POLICY.

AN amiable writer in the *Kreuz Zeitung* includes in a long catalogue of affronts supposed to have been offered to England the cession to Germany of Delagoa Bay, which the Portuguese have not ceded, and the lease or sale by an impudent adventurer called BAEZ of the bay and harbour of Samana to an American Joint-Stock Company. It is still extremely doubtful whether the Senate will allow the PRESIDENT to accomplish his favourite project of annexing San Domingo; but a protest or expression of alarm on the part of England would insure popular support to any scheme of aggression. The Joint-Stock Company is evidently a mere fiction, or a temporary instrument of the PRESIDENT. The American Government would never recognize the sovereignty of an irresponsible body of private persons over any territory in the Western hemisphere. The peninsula which is the subject of the alleged conveyance is smaller than the Isle of Wight, but the harbour is the principal outlet for the trade of the Spanish part of the island. South American Presidents have seldom been remarkable for scrupulous regard to the constitutional limits of their power; but BAEZ surpasses all competitors in audacity when he sells to foreigners the absolute sovereignty over an indispensable portion of the national territory. It appears that he has a complaisant Senate which will share in the plunder, if the bargain is concluded by the American Government. The treaty, as it is called, can scarcely be worth the paper or parchment on which it is written. No body of speculators can either make a treaty or acquire by purchase the right to exercise jurisdiction over foreigners resident on their property. An American Republic of Samana would be simply ridiculous; nor can there be any reason for going through an idle form if the Senate of the United States is disposed to reverse its former policy, and if the House of Representatives is willing to vote the amount which BAEZ is to receive as a bribe. It is evident that the rest of the territory and the Dominican Republic must follow the fortunes of Samana, and that Hayti must be annexed in its turn. There is no reason why England should concern itself about the negotiation. Both the Spanish and the French population of the island would probably be better governed by American officers than by half-civilized rulers of the type of BAEZ. It was assuredly not out of deference to England, and probably not from any excessive regard to the rights of negro or mulatto Republics, that the Senate overruled General GRANT'S policy of annexation. It is possible that the American Union may eventually surround itself with dependencies; but prudent politicians hesitate to commence without urgent reason a series of experiments which might seriously affect the Constitution of the Republic. Even after the admission of PINSCHBECK, the appearance of BAEZ at Washington as a Senator of the United States from San Domingo would scarcely be regarded with equanimity. Inferior races included in the dominion of the Union must either be allowed to share in government and legislation, or be ruled by an authority which has yet to be created. For purposes of commerce it is wholly unnecessary to buy or to rent either the harbour of Samana or the territory of San Domingo; but if the people of the United States really desire to found a colonial empire, they will approve of the treasonable corruption of BAEZ.

The bargain concluded by the anonymous Company furnishes an excuse, if not a justification, for some of the charges which Mr. SUMNER urged against General GRANT in his elaborate speech delivered in the last Session of Congress. There is undoubtedly reason to suspect that the PRESIDENT has determined on pursuing a policy of aggression in several different quarters. He has despatched a general officer who enjoys his confidence to superintend the proceedings of

the Sandwich Islanders; and the journals which support his Government are careful to proclaim that the mission of the Pacific fleet to Honolulu is intended for the purpose of counteracting English influence. Not two months have passed since General GRANT announced in his Message to Congress that not a cloud any longer hung over the relations of England and the United States; but the temptation of an appeal to popular prejudice which may perhaps remove the objection to annexation at once prevails over the friendly disposition which had been professed. It is not improbable that the Senate may resent the practice of employing military officers on informal diplomatic missions. General SCHOFIELD represents at Honolulu the PRESIDENT alone, although an accredited American Minister holds a commission which must have been confirmed by the Senate. It is not a little remarkable that the peaceable professions of the Message should have been immediately afterwards interpreted by the underhand transaction with BAEZ, and by the despatch of the squadron to the Sandwich Islands. It now appears that the journals which foretold the adoption of a bolder foreign policy after the re-election of General GRANT enjoyed a confidence which the PRESIDENT withheld from the Senate and the House of Representatives. It is difficult for foreigners to ascertain whether any sudden change has affected public opinion in the United States. It will be strange if Congress votes the money which will be required to fulfil the engagements of the Samana Company with BAEZ, after refusing to provide for the purchase of St. Thomas from the Government of Denmark. The acquisition of the Sandwich Islands is more likely to meet with general approval; but the unauthorised action of the PRESIDENT will scarcely fail to provoke jealousy and censure.

Of all the unexpected indications of an ambitious policy, the most surprising is the calculated menace which has been addressed to Spain. The indirect form of the communication aggravates the insult, as it implies that Mr. FISH was not even disposed to allow the Spanish Government an opportunity of complying with his demands. When the despatch was published at Washington, Mr. FISH must have been fully aware that it had not been presented by General SICKLES to the Spanish MINISTER for FOREIGN AFFAIRS; yet the despatch itself contained a formal order to communicate without delay either the text or the substance of the document. Señor ZORRILLA had shortly before been attacked in the Cortes on the ground of his alleged subservience to American dictation; and by publishing the despatch Mr. FISH supplied a formidable weapon to the Opposition which is engaged in the task of maintaining slavery in Porto Rico. If the Emancipation Bill is rejected, and the Government consequently driven from office, the American SECRETARY of STATE will have once more an opportunity of denouncing the existence of slavery in Cuba. The inability to tolerate for a few years longer the continuance in a foreign State of a system which was abolished less than ten years ago in the United States is the more significant because General GRANT was before the Civil War not an opponent of slavery. It is remarkable that zeal for abolition should prompt the adoption of a policy of aggression which is elsewhere simultaneously pursued on entirely different grounds. There are no slaves in San Domingo or in the Sandwich Islands; and, on the other hand, there has in Cuba been neither the extinction of a dynasty nor a lease of a part of the island in full sovereignty to a Company of American shareholders. The proverbial five reasons for drinking were consistent with one another in comparison with the PRESIDENT'S three reasons for annexing as many insular territories in the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Foreign politicians who happen to dislike England will probably have many opportunities of congratulating themselves on practical proofs that Russia, or the United States,

or perhaps the German Empire itself, entertain ambitious designs. It is perfectly true that the English Government and nation have no means of interposing a veto on the aggrandizement of great Powers as long as it is not effected at the expense of England; nor is it a cause for regret that such a transaction as the purchase of Samana affords no reason or pretext for interference with the policy of the United States. It was a King of Prussia, and not an English Minister, who declared that, if he were King of France, not a gun should be fired in Europe without his permission. Many guns may and will hereafter be fired in the four quarters of the world without the permission of England; but it is not altogether obvious that each separate explosion will be especially offensive to one neutral and peaceable Power. The annexation of Savoy and Nice was probably as unacceptable to Prussia as to England, and the encroachments of Russia on the nominal independence of Poland were distasteful to the Western Powers; but it has not been generally held that in either case it would have been prudent to resort to hostile proceedings. The French nation, under the influence of thoughtless and prejudiced writers and orators, thought fit a few years ago to regard the progress of German unity as an injury to itself. To avoid taunts of the same kind which are now directed against England, the Imperial Government plunged into the disastrous war which overthrew the dynasty. Before the Government and Parliament of England will be induced to follow the example of France, the irony and invective of German journalists must become more pointed and more effective than at present.

POLITICS AT BIRMINGHAM.

POLITICIANS of all parties will be glad to learn from Mr. BRIGHT's letter excusing his absence from a meeting of his constituents at Birmingham, that this, he hopes, will be the last occasion on which he will have to solicit their indulgence. His health is so far restored that he may be expected to take some part in the deliberations of Parliament next Session, and to give before long to the electors of Birmingham and to the country the benefit of knowing what he really thinks on the important subjects which he announces as ripe for discussion. The principal topics to which he adverts are the reduction of expenditure, the "land question," and the alteration of the county franchise. Mr. BRIGHT is in a different position from that occupied by most Liberal members, and especially from that occupied by his colleagues at Birmingham. He is aware that the country wants something more than vague phrases about extravagance, and landlordism, and suffering labourers. It wants clear practical propositions, based on arguments that will bear discussion, even if discussion shows them to be untenable. More particularly Mr. BRIGHT must be supposed to know what the land question is; for he speaks as if it had a clear meaning to his mind, and it has been in a great measure in consequence of his publication of an old letter from Mr. COBDEN that the notion has come to be suddenly and rapidly entertained that to deal with this question satisfactorily must be part of the accepted Liberal programme. He also says in his recent letter to his Birmingham friends that the more this question is discussed by the public the more Parliament will be prepared to deal with it. This is of course true, and if Parliament is to deal with it, it is most desirable that the public should know something about it. The present Parliament is not, according to Mr. BRIGHT, fit to deal with it. The question is one too big for an expiring Parliament, and although Mr. BRIGHT expects that the present Parliament will sit for nearly two years more, yet its energies are already so exhausted that it is incompetent to deal with great questions. There will therefore be plenty of time to discuss the land question, and as it is such a very big question, and wants such a very vigorous Parliament to deal with it, the sooner discussion is started the better. If Mr. BRIGHT would but let his Liberal friends know what the land question is, they would be happy to take his views upon it, and swear to stand or fall in their defence. But what is the ordinary Liberal member, or what is the public, to do while the secret of what this question is remains so obscure? No light comes from any quarter. Supposing that a general system of registration of ownership and incumbrances of land were effected throughout the kingdom, and that conveyancing were made simplicity itself; supposing also that the law of intestate succession to land were made the same as that relating to personalty; and supposing, further, that trespass laws of great stringency were substituted for the Game-laws,

would the land question be settled, or only partially settled, or not touched at all? We have not the slightest notion how to answer this, and it is quite evident that not a single Liberal member who has lately referred mysteriously to the land question in his speeches to his constituents has any notion. The land question cannot be discussed until there is something to discuss, and we should most sincerely welcome an exposition from Mr. BRIGHT of what the land question is, so that the discussion might be started, and those who are to sit in the next Parliament might begin to prepare for their gigantic mission.

The alteration of the county franchise is the other great question of the future which Mr. BRIGHT regards as too big for this Parliament, and destined to be relegated to its successor. This at least is intelligible enough. The proposal is that every householder should have a vote throughout the country, and, as much of the distinction between the rural and urban population would be thus done away with, a further proposal is arrived at without much difficulty, that there should be equal electoral districts. Why should agricultural labourers have votes? This is a preliminary question which is well worth considering, but which is almost completely ignored by those who speak on the subject. There need be no prejudice on the subject, no indisposition to do justice to the labourer, no sneering at democracy. We may ask the question, not as settling it virtually by raising it, and creating an anticipation that the answer must be that there is no reason, but quite dispassionately. Why should the agricultural labourer have a vote? The answers we gather from reading the speeches of Liberal members may be grouped under three heads. In the first place, it is said that they ought to have votes because they are undoubtedly going to have votes; and there is much force in this, if the fact be so. Discussion as to the propriety of giving labourers votes is at an end when once the bestowal of these votes is looked on as a mere question of party politics. The Liberals are sure to propose the change, and the Conservatives will, it is assumed, neither have the courage nor the strength to resist it. This is the view taken by Mr. DIXON, who simply advises all parties to begin educating the agricultural population at once, for it seems that directly they get votes they will proceed to settle all questions relating to capital and labour and to taxation in a very bold manner; and, as Mr. DIXON justly says, it is desirable that they should, or, to speak more accurately, that their younger children should, know how to read very imperfectly before they take these matters in hand. Secondly, the question is sometimes answered by saying that the rural labourers have grievances, and that, if they have votes, they will get these grievances redressed, whereas they will not do so if they have not votes. Candidates would be obliged to consider what agricultural labourers would like to have enacted by Parliament if their election depends on these humble sufferers. Exactly the same argument is urged in favour of giving women the suffrage. If they had votes, women's wrongs would be attended to. It is certainly a great reproach to the existing Constitution, if the wrongs of agricultural labourers and women exist, if they are capable of removal by legislation, and are not redressed. But it would be necessary, in the first place, to know what these wrongs are, and, secondly, to know whether they are of so great an importance and intensity as to warrant a sweeping constitutional change. Lastly, the extension of the suffrage to agricultural labourers is very often defended on the ground that any one will do for an elector. The rural population are not, it is urged, much greater fools than the pothouse politicians of boroughs, and they are all our own flesh and blood, and so forth. This is the most undeniable ground that can be taken if its cardinal assumption is once accepted, that fitness to vote is not to be regarded in any way as part of the necessary qualification of an elector.

Mr. BRIGHT does not consider the reduction of national expenditure as part of the programme of a new Parliament, for he has got into a state of despair about it, and does not believe that any Ministry or any Parliament is likely to do what Mr. GLADSTONE's Ministry and Mr. GLADSTONE's Parliament have failed in doing. He has evidently come to the conclusion that he will not live to see the public expenditure much reduced. And perhaps he may before long admit the unwelcome conclusion that this is because no great reduction is possible. After the interest of the debt is paid, England spends in governing itself about fifteen millions, and in insuring itself against foreign enemies about twenty-five millions. Is this really a very extravagant outlay for so rich a nation, with its territory dispersed over the globe, and with prices so high as at present? Judging by the experience of other nations, it certainly is not. The nation no doubt could

spend less, but then it would not have the things that it wants. The real task of an economical Ministry is not to reduce expenditure so much as to prevent new means of spending money being forced on the Government by persons who think that they have only to dip in the public purse to get anything they fancy carried out. At this very meeting in Birmingham, which was opened by the reading of Mr. BRIGHT's letter lamenting the irrepressible extravagance of the public expenditure, Mr. DIXON quietly proposed to devote five millions more to the expenditure on education. He does not like the present system of education; but to introduce the system of which he approves would be very costly, and, as local ratepayers would certainly not choose to raise the necessary funds, he finds the solution of his difficulty in asking for a further grant of five millions sterling from the Consolidated Fund. It is true that he, in an airy way, proposes to more than cover the increase by a reduction in the expenditure on the army and navy, but he does not condescend to show how that could be done. This is the sort of financial talk that is thought good enough for the platform of a meeting in one of the greatest towns in England, and in one of the strongholds of the party which is pledged to economy. Mr. BRIGHT, after reading his colleague's speech, must have been bitterly reminded of the real reasons why the public expenditure is always in danger of being carried beyond what it ought to be. Definite schemes of expenditure and indefinite projects of saving are as ruinous to nations as to private persons.

MONARCHICAL PRETENDERS.

WHEN the late EMPEROR died the most zealous adherents of his dynasty pointed out that France need not be alarmed lest there should not be a new Emperor ready for her as soon as she woke to the fact that she wanted one. The son of the EMPEROR will be eighteen next year, when all Sovereigns come of age by special prerogative, and the French territory, it was thought, would only just be cleared in time to give him a country in a decent state for him to reign over. In a year's time the Germans would have gone away, and the PRINCE IMPERIAL would be of age, and then would be exactly the proper time for a Restoration. But France is getting the stage ready for the various pretenders to the Throne almost too quickly to suit them. The payments received by the Treasury on account of the last loan have been so large that no doubt now exists as to the first four milliards being paid to the Germans by May of this year, and it has been said that the French Government was making arrangements to offer guarantees instead of the actual cash for the last milliard. But if the latest reports are correct, the financial position of France is so good that it will be able to find cash for the last milliard, and thus in a few months the indemnity will have been paid and the Germans will, it may be expected, leave France. The trial of Marshal BAZAINE, it may be observed, has been postponed for a time on the plea that it is not desirable that it should be held while the Germans are in France, and this also points to the expectation that it will not be very long before the country is cleared of the Germans. Then will come the crisis to which Frenchmen of all parties have been long looking forward with so much interest. Unless the Republic is to be definitively proclaimed as the established Government, some section of monarchists must then make good their pretensions. That there should be so many of them is very embarrassing, and certainly no one of them stands out sufficiently before all the rest to make it probable that he could have the slightest chance of success if he tried his fortune within the present year. The immediate chiefs of the Imperialist party seem to see quite clearly how very feeble is their prospect of a speedy restoration, and they have had the good sense to strive to curb the extravagant zeal of their subordinates in France by announcing that the PRINCE will wait very quietly under the joint guardianship of the EMPRESS and Prince NAPOLEON, and will not obtrude his pretensions on the world. Decency suggests that these two guardians of the young PRINCE should be supposed to be working in complete harmony, for the Bonapartists are not powerful enough to stand a split in their ranks; but that two persons so different in character and opinions could really agree if there was any chance of serious action is extremely improbable, and Imperialism before it gets one real Court is likely to have two mock ones.

Meanwhile all can for the present go on very comfortably. The EMPRESS and her boy are settled in England, and Prince NAPOLEON has a father-in-law who will always place a palace in Italy at his disposal. He wants to be treated as another

Frenchman, and to be allowed to reside in France. Nor is there any pretext of legality for the refusal to let him come. Monarchical pretenders are not all treated on an equal footing in France, or judged by the same law. Although M. THIERS affects not to have prejudged the question against a new BOURBON King, he does not for a moment hesitate to avow that he has always endeavoured to make a new BONAPARTE Emperor impossible in his time. He has lately sought a conference with the Committee appointed to examine into the circumstances attending the expulsion of Prince NAPOLEON, and has frankly avowed that there was nothing particular in the conduct of the Prince to which he objected. He had no acts of conspiracy to allege; he merely thought that one of the BONAPARTE family would give trouble, would get noisy, meddlesome people about him, and be a centre of conspirators, if not a conspirator. As to the old plan of a NAPOLEON getting elected for some place like Corsica, and then coming forward in his sheep's clothing and professing regard for a Republic, M. THIERS thought that honest men had had enough of it, and were not such simpletons as to let the same trick be played on them twice. There is some truth in all this, and although he might not do much harm, yet Prince NAPOLEON, as a member of the National Assembly, and as offering a focus for the efforts of Imperialist intriguers, might give trouble and annoyance to the Government. But it is curious to contrast with the demeanour of the Government towards the BONAPARTE family the attitude which it assumes towards the BOURBONS. If the existing Government is supposed to be that of a Republic, it is threatened much more immediately by a BOURBON than by a BONAPARTE Restoration. Yet the ORLEANS Princes are members of the Assembly, and attend the Expiatory Mass in memory of a deceased head of their family in almost Royal state. They are restored to their property; they act as Presidents of different Societies and meetings. The Count of CHAMBORD is quite at liberty to come whenever he pleases to the deserted castle from which he borrows his name. It must be owned that this is a very strange state of things. Those who are most dangerous to the existence of the Republic are welcomed on the national territory; those who are only very slightly dangerous are carefully excluded from it. If the Republic is to be treated as merely provisional, then a chance is given to only one set of possible successors, and another set is rigidly kept away, so that France may not have a fair choice between them. There can be no doubt what M. THIERS really means. If he can, he will establish the Republic, or at any rate that very peculiar form of a Republic which consists in his being President, and having an Assembly to guide, enlighten, cajole, and baffle. If this is found impossible, France shall have a Monarchy; and he will take care that this Monarchy shall be a BOURBON Monarchy. If he cannot keep the prize himself, he will hand it over to his friends, and not to his enemies.

But it may be doubted whether this seeming advantage is really so beneficial to the BOURBONS as might be expected. Two years have nearly elapsed since France had to make peace and to entrust her destinies to an Assembly the majority of which was very favourable to a BOURBON Restoration, and probably only a few months have now to elapse before the decision of the nation on its form of government will be pronounced. With two-thirds of this period of their great opportunity gone by, the BOURBONS do not seem to get forward. There they are, conspicuous, powerful, venerated, but no one seems to want them very much or to care for them. They are divided among themselves, and in spite of the reports of a fusion that are constantly set on foot, the fusion is never effected. The Count of CHAMBORD and the Count of PARIS represent two different currents of thought which flow through the Royalist party; and although it seems a small mark of difference to say that the heads of the two branches of the family are irreconcilable because one wants a white flag and the other wants the tricolour, yet these flags are the symbols of entirely different conceptions of what a BOURBON Restoration means. If, having had this long time of exceptional favour and exceptional opportunities, the Royalists have been unable to get any further forward or to carry the country with them, they may soon come to be regarded, if they are not regarded already, as men who are played out, and from whom it has been ascertained that nothing effective can come. The Imperialists will then have the comparative advantage of having remained for a time in obscurity. But although this might re-awaken some interest in their proceedings, yet it could not do much for them so long as the Government went on from day to day upholding order and satisfying the national wants of the moment. No one of the monarchical parties in France is strong enough at once

to put down the others and to get a fair hold of the nation. All the monarchical parties of France strive to avoid the reproach of stirring up civil war, and repudiate the imputation that they could be induced to imitate the Spanish Carlists and seek to regain power by petty raids, or by military surprises such as those attempted with such bad success at Strasburg and Boulogne by the late EMPEROR. They all look patiently to France and await its decision; and a Conservative Republic is the name given to a form of Government the chief object of which is to keep them waiting. Whether such a state of things can last long enough for new habits to grow up, and for Frenchmen to feel the ties binding them to some monarchical party or another becoming gradually weaker, is a point on which scarcely any two Frenchmen appear to hold the same opinion on the same grounds.

LORD LYTTON.

THE death of Lord LYTTON is not of political importance. He had not held office in the last Conservative Administration; nor had he even spoken in the House of Lords. His votes had been those of a prudent and moderate Conservative; but he probably devoted little time or thought to public affairs. His early Liberalism and his later alliance with the party of resistance were probably results of sincere, but not of profound, conviction. It became an Englishman of letters, holding a good social position, to aspire, like a Roman patrician, to political distinction; and the faculties and studies which had enabled Sir EDWARD LYTTON to become a brilliant writer proved to be adequate to the attainment of considerable Parliamentary success. He was not born an orator; and it was only in his later years that he became celebrated for a polished and somewhat artificial eloquence. Not possessing the readiness of a debater, he confined his efforts to the preparation and delivery of set speeches, which commanded the intellectual appreciation of competent critics and the respect of the body of the House of Commons. His official fortunes bore some analogy to his Parliamentary career. Through the friendship of Mr. DISRAELI and the confidence of Lord DERBY he administered for a short time a great department of State, without having at any time served an apprenticeship in public business. The Colonial Office at that time attracted but little public attention; and Sir EDWARD LYTTON's principal achievements, if they had been noticed, would not have added to his fame. His literary instinct ought to have suggested to him a less awkward name for a colony than that of British Columbia; and he committed a much graver error in appointing Mr. GLADSTONE Lord High Commissioner Extraordinary of the Ionian Islands. The appointment was probably illegal, as it was certainly unconstitutional; and its principal result, after the collapse of a ridiculous project of democratic reform, was the abandonment of a Protectorate which Sir EDWARD LYTTON desired to maintain. The real object of the mission was probably to secure to the Conservatives the adherence of the versatile statesman who soon afterwards canvassed the county of Flint in the interest of Lord DERBY; but the merit of the intrigue which pleased the fancy of the veteran novelist could only have consisted in its success; and Mr. GLADSTONE's Ionian eccentricities have been followed by a final adoption of the party of movement.

If Lord LYTTON can scarcely be regarded as a statesman of serious pretensions, there can be no doubt that his experience as a politician and a man of the world added greatly to the value of his literary productions. His principal rivals happened not to have enjoyed the advantage of any familiarity with great affairs. Mr. THACKERAY, though he had much knowledge of social life, and although he once became a candidate for a seat in Parliament, cared so little for politics that in his hustings speeches he adopted, by mistake, some of the commonplaces of the wrong party. Mr. DICKENS, though he fancied himself a moral reformer, possessed not even a rudimentary acquaintance either with social traditions or with political theories. Lord LYTTON was familiar from his earliest youth with the contests of parties, which he probably always regarded with the dispassionate curiosity of an artist. The hero of *Pelham* displays his superiority to prejudice by a cynical indifference to political consistency; and all the statesmen who figure in Lord LYTTON's later novels are represented as aspirants to power, or as calm spectators of public events, rather than as enthusiasts for any political cause. It is true that an imaginative writer ought not to be identified with the fictitious personages whom he sets in motion; and Lord LYTTON deserves credit for not

attempting to convert romances into political tracts; but in public life, as well as in literary composition, he either discarded or visibly overacted the character of partisan. The most popular of his political writings was published on the dismissal of the MELBOURNE Ministry by WILLIAM IV., when Lord ALTHORP was removed to the House of Lords. The proceeding of the KING was anomalous, and it produced much party indignation, which attracted attention to the protest of a clever pamphleteer; but any inquirer who thinks it worth while to disinter an obsolete document will find that the writer, instead of sharing the passions of his party, is chiefly concerned with the elaboration of antitheses and epigrams. He repeats again and again, with tiresome reiteration, the statement that a great change had arisen from a disproportionately petty cause, for that the enemies of reform had been summoned to office because a respectable old nobleman had died. That the KING had been only premature in regarding as complete the Conservative reaction which had only commenced, and that Sir ROBERT PEEL was greatly superior in administrative ability to his adversaries, were considerations which would have been rejected as irrelevant if they had occurred to the advocate who amused himself for the moment by assuming the demeanour of a zealous partisan.

In his literary character Lord LYTTON was more conscientious, because he was thoroughly in earnest. His industry as a writer was indefatigable; and it is now known that he was actively employed in composition when he had been supposed in his later years to have withdrawn from the field of literature. Trying almost every kind of composition, he succeeded in one not unimportant department. He was neither a humourist nor a philosopher, though he flattered himself that he possessed the qualities of both; and his powers of vivid dramatic impersonation were of a feeble order; but he surpassed all his contemporaries and many of his predecessors in the rare art of constructing a story; and he seems seldom to have yielded, like SCOTT and THACKERAY and DICKENS, to the temptation of changing his plan as his narrative proceeded. He fancied himself a poet; and by dint of incessant labour he produced some tolerable verses. He had also a laudable ambition to distinguish himself as a scholar; and his work on Athens may still be seen on dusty book-shelves. His plays display an aptitude for satisfying the conditions of success on the stage, though they possess but little literary merit. His fame must rest on his novels, which may perhaps remain popular for more than one generation. The adjectives which were converted by the use of the definite article into substantives, and then used as the signs of supposed thoughts, will long continue to raise a not unsympathetic smile; but the tales in which they are interspersed possess the mark of genius in the interest which they seldom fail to excite and gratify. The writer who sometimes endeavours to pass himself off as a dreamy theorist is really occupied in the epic function of ordering events which follow in a natural or credible succession. The touch of egotistic personality from which only the greatest writers are exempt is harmlessly indicated by the untailing coincidence, during thirty or forty years, of the age of the hero with the age of the writer. In other branches of literature Lord LYTTON was a clever and graceful amateur. As a writer of novels he was a professional artist of extraordinary merit.

There was but little similarity between the two eminent romance writers who sat together in Lord DERBY's Cabinet of 1858. Mr. DISRAELI, though he has written brilliant novels, is primarily and principally a politician, while Sir EDWARD LYTTON only qualified himself to become a Minister by attaining high distinction as a man of letters. There is no probability that in England literary and political success will be more frequently combined in the future than in the past. In the majority of cases it is a loss to the world when a writer of genius deserts the career for which he is especially fit; but no general rule can be laid down for the union or separation of dissimilar employments. With the exceptions of the Duke of ARGYLL, who prefers science to literature, and of Mr. GLADSTONE, who is rather an accomplished scholar than a regular author, Mr. DISRAELI and Lord LYTTON are the only Ministers who in the present generation have cultivated literary aspirations. The circumstances of France during the last sixty years have been especially favourable to the political success of literary men, and several of them have attained the highest rank in the State; but M. GUIZOT and M. THIERS wrote on subjects immediately connected with modern politics; and more imaginative writers have conspicuously failed as statesmen. LAMARTINE was an eloquent charlatan who, having pledged himself to monarchy in the morning, and put himself at the head of a Republic

in the afternoon, was ignominiously driven from power by an Assembly which had been elected a few weeks before with the express mission of supporting him. VICTOR HUGO has proved the melancholy truth that a great poet may in mundane affairs become a pestilent quack. With fit opportunities BYRON would probably have attained high rank as an orator and politician; but his vigorous common sense was even more remarkable than his imaginative power, and he had little tendency to enthusiasm. Other English poets have not in modern times committed the blunder of deserting their proper vocation for a political career, although WORDSWORTH wrote two or three political pamphlets, and although COLERIDGE earned at one time a livelihood as a journalist. Lord LYTON, who was not a poet, passed through the career of politics with credit and dignity; but he seems always to have understood that the proper business of his life was to write rather than to speak or to act. The news of his death has been received with universal regret.

MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN FRANCE.

THE tendency of French political parties to effect unexpected changes of character among themselves has received a fresh illustration in the proceedings of the Committee of Thirty. Ever since the reading of M. THIERS's Message, the Right have been continually asserting that the present Government is only provisional. M. THIERS and the Republic alike hold office until—and only until—their successors are appointed. The Left has usually maintained, in opposition to this, that, however anomalous some of the incidents of the existing order of things may happen to be, the order itself is settled and permanent. The Republic may be somewhat naked in the matter of institutions, but it is not the less the legal Government of the country. In the debate in the Committee on the relations between the PRESIDENT and the Assembly these parts have been completely reversed. The Duke DECAZES has been seeking to apply the regular maxims of Parliamentary government to an arrangement which, from his point of view, is merely a temporary expedient for tiding over a difficulty. The minority in the Committee have been opposing him on the ground that such maxims are altogether inappropriate until France is in possession of a settled and organized Constitution. In last Monday's discussion the Committee began by agreeing that M. THIERS should communicate with the Assembly by message. It seems to have been admitted, however, on all hands that some exceptions must be made to this rule. That M. THIERS should be altogether shut out from the Assembly would in the present position of affairs be too great an absurdity to stand any chance of being adopted, or even proposed, in serious earnest. The controversy turned upon the extent of the exceptions. There was no objection to allowing him to address the Assembly in the course of a debate on a Bill. Bills are not ordinarily the occasion of a Ministerial crisis, and it is in a Ministerial crisis that the Right is chiefly anxious to shut M. THIERS's mouth. To meet this desire, the Duke DECAZES moved that the permission should be confined to debates on Bills, and should not extend to debates arising out of interpellations addressed to Ministers. M. LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS, who supported the Duke's amendment, founded his argument on the old theme of the ineffaceable distinction between the legislative and executive powers. He admitted that before M. THIERS became President this distinction was necessarily in abeyance. He had then no other title than Chief of the Executive and President of the Council of Ministers. He was directly responsible to the Assembly, and it was necessary therefore that he should be able to defend his acts from the tribune. But in naming M. THIERS President the Assembly has made him the Chief of the State. As such he can have no personal policy; he must take the policy marked out for him by the majority of the Assembly. If for a time it is necessary to concede to him the right of having and stating an opinion upon the merits of the laws which it proposed that the Assembly should enact, so exceptional a permission must be very strictly limited. To give him the right of intervening in debates on interpellations would be to allow him to identify himself with a particular Minister or set of Ministers. As President he has no business to do this. He holds a position above party contentions, and he ought to have no preference—at all events he ought to betray none—for one Ministry over another.

M. LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS has very well defined the position of a Constitutional King as the term is understood in England. And if M. THIERS had been elected President by the French

people, it might have been wise to subject him to all the restrictions which are imposed in free countries on hereditary Sovereigns. But M. LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS leaves out of sight the important fact that M. THIERS has been elected by the French Legislature. The origin of his power is the same as in the case of an ordinary Prime Minister. He bears a title which has hitherto been applied to another kind of officer; but the power he wields is far more akin to that exercised by Mr. GLADSTONE than to that exercised by General GRANT. There is a meaning in the notion of a President elected by the people. He is placed at the head of affairs as a check upon the action of the Assembly. The executive equally with the legislative authority is derived directly from a popular vote, and if the two are not in accord there is no *prima facie* reason for regarding one rather than the other as giving the right version of the popular will. But a President elected by the Legislature is only of value so long as he is in harmony with the Legislature. He has no other title to power than the Parliamentary vote which in the first instance placed him at the head of affairs; and when the confidence which inspired that vote is gone past renewal, it is only reasonable that he should resign his power to the hands of those who gave it him. He is a Minister in everything but the name, and the political current will run most smoothly when this substantial identity is most clearly recognized.

The minority which opposed the Duke DECAZES's proposal preferred, however, to rest their case upon the exceptional nature of M. THIERS's position. They did not challenge the theory of Ministerial responsibility, or of Presidential superiority to party politics. They only protested against upsetting the whole conduct of public business by an over-rigid adherence to constitutional technicalities. France cannot dispense with M. THIERS. He is as much a necessity as the Assembly. Is it not better that these two necessities should have free access to one another's views and enjoy every possible opportunity of coming to an agreement upon the business which they have to transact in common? The exclusion of M. THIERS from the tribune during the discussion of interpellations would not prevent conflicts between him and the Assembly. It would rather tend to make them more frequent and more serious. As it is, when the opinion of the majority of the Assembly is different from the PRESIDENT's, there is room for mutual explanations. If no opening is given for these, if the Assembly votes contrary to M. THIERS's wish without his having had an opportunity of expounding and justifying his policy, how can a breach between the Executive and the Legislature be possibly avoided? The Duke DECAZES would answer that, if the PRESIDENT realized his true position, no such breach could possibly occur. The censures of the Assembly would never reach so high as the PRESIDENT. The only crisis that could happen would be a Ministerial crisis. But the Duke forgets that the present Constitution of France rests upon a triangular contract. The Assembly may assign to M. THIERS the function of a Constitutional Sovereign, but if both the nation and M. THIERS refuse to execute the deed, what will be its practical value? It must be supposed that the majority of the Committee believe that they have an answer to this question ready; for an amendment, moved by the Duke DECAZES, has been adopted by nineteen votes to six. The latest attempt to find a middle term in which M. THIERS and the Committee can agree is M. BROD's proposal to give the PRESIDENT the right of speaking on interpellations which involve questions of general policy, foreign or domestic. If M. THIERS could be confined within these limits, it is very possible that the real object of the Committee would be gained. No advantage would accrue to the Right from silencing him when the duration of the German occupation, or the best mode of providing the next instalment of the indemnity, is under discussion. What is chiefly wanted is to prevent him from coming to the rescue of a Minister whom the Right are trying to turn out. But then comes in the difficulty, who is to say what constitutes a question of general policy. If it is to be M. THIERS, the definition may be stretched from time to time, until in the end it will be found to have included every subject upon which M. THIERS has cared to speak. To meet this M. BROD proposes that the Assembly, on the motion of a member of the Government, shall decide whether the interpellation has for its object a question of general politics. If M. THIERS assents to this compromise, it may be assumed that he counts upon the Assembly being induced, either by curiosity or by the desire not to seem afraid of his arguments, to give him leave to speak as often as he asks it. In this calculation he is probably right. To refuse to hear the PRESIDENT, when he has declared that the question is of sufficient importance to

make his speaking on it expedient, will saddle the Assembly with a graver responsibility than a fluctuating and timid majority will readily venture to incur.

In the meantime the Right in the Assembly have been furnishing a curious practical commentary on the meaning they attach to Ministerial responsibility. M. JULES SIMON, who is in bad odour with them, not so much for any actual offences as for the original sin of membership of the Government of National Defence, has lately put out a circular upon Secondary Education which is held to discourage the practice of Latin verse-making. Even the Extreme Right would hardly maintain that a Minister's views upon this question would be a sufficient cause for dismissing him. But they found a more plausible ground of censure in the fact that he had not consulted the Educational Council. As the Minister was willing to submit the circular to the Council before giving further effect to the revolutionary doctrine contained in it, this alleged illegality hardly amounted to a serious crime. But the Right, who had failed to beat M. SIMON in a previous debate on the constitution of this very Council, were determined not to throw away a chance. They pressed their motion to a division, and finding themselves beaten, they abstained from voting on a motion exonerating the Minister which was proposed immediately afterwards; and by this means ensured that the necessary quorum of members should not be present. The manoeuvre was repeated on the following day, but not with the same success; and the result of the whole business seems to have been merely to strengthen the Government in the person of its weakest member. The most curious feature of the affair was M. BARAGNON's indignant protest against the announcement of the MINISTER of the INTERIOR that the Government intended to make M. SIMON's cause their own. The theory of the Right seems to be that the Assembly may dismiss every Minister in turn without expressing any want of confidence in the Ministry as a whole, and they hold themselves injured whenever the Government makes the Deputies understand that this innocent amusement may possibly have inconvenient consequences.

THE WELSH STRIKE.

ALTHOUGH it is scarcely probable that the South Wales strike can last for many weeks, no progress has hitherto been made to a settlement. The division which was taken at Blaenau only expressed the opinions of two or three hundred out of ten thousand colliers; and it appears that the great majority disapproved of an appeal to the ballot. The promoters and supporters of the strike are perfectly consistent in opposing a proceeding which implies that the men are wavering in their purpose of resistance; and it is useless to reproach them with their distrust in their trade disputes of the contrivance which has, in accordance with their wish, been applied to Parliamentary elections. The managers of the Union, desiring in both cases to have their own way, can trust the mass of the workmen to vote for the popular candidate; while they are not certain that a majority would support the strike. The world is not in any department governed by the unbiassed opinion of majorities, but by combination and activity. It is still doubtful whether Trade Unions are on the whole beneficial to their members; but, if the experiment of their organization is to be fairly tried, the great mass of artisans must trust the managing body. An appeal to the ballot is in itself equivalent to a vote of want of confidence; and the colliers are not provided with an alternative government, to be formed by leaders of the opposition. It is not while their imaginations are excited by rumours of large remittances from the central Union that the workmen are likely to rebel against the Council. The tenth part of the weekly wages which were distributed a month ago is welcomed, not only as a seasonable contribution, but as a striking illustration of the vast resources of the Union. It is highly probable that the ironworkers will follow the example of the colliers by joining the Union of their trade as soon as work is resumed. Their helplessness during the present strike will suggest the expediency of making provision for future quarrels with their employers. That the accumulated hoards of years are in process of unprofitable dissipation is a consideration which will scarcely influence the decision of improvident workmen who have no savings on which they can fall back. Evil is almost always prolific of evil, and strikes tend to produce future strikes.

The proposals and statements of the masters have perhaps confirmed the erroneous impression of the workmen that their wages ought to bear a definite proportion to the profits of their

employers. It is possible that at some future time collieries, ironworks, and other industrial undertakings may be conducted on principles of co-operation; but the South Wales capitalists have at present no intention of giving the workmen a share of their property; nor indeed do the promoters of the strike consciously or avowedly demand that the men should be taken into partnership. When the masters explain their notice of reduction of wages by a statement that prices have fallen, they countenance the theory that the workmen are directly interested in the rate of profit; yet they can in no case intend to pay more than the market price of the labour which they require. When their profits are large, it is their interest to increase their production; and consequently an additional demand for labour causes a rise of wages. The information which Mr. CRAWSHAY and other ironmasters have offered to the delegates of the workmen is either superfluous or incomplete. In the cost of production is included the value of the coal at the high price which it commands in the market, although the profit on the coal accrues to the same capitalist who complains that he is making iron at a loss. The workmen are not unnaturally puzzled and dissatisfied by a partial explanation which seems to admit the soundness of their own erroneous assumption. If the ironmasters were making fifty per cent. on their capital, they would not be bound to pay higher wages than in ordinary seasons, as long as they could obtain at a low rate the services of their workmen. If the business of postmasters and omnibus proprietors were extraordinarily flourishing, the price of horses might probably tend to rise; but it would not be voluntarily increased. The ironmasters and coalowners, in good times as in bad, buy their pit-wood and the materials of their plant at the cheapest possible rate; and their bargains with their workmen are really regulated by precisely similar considerations. The much-abused farmer has not been in the habit of lowering his wages in bad years; and he has not thought it necessary to raise them when his wheat or his wool was dear. Men of business for the most part correct any confusion of their theories when it becomes necessary to apply them in practice. The masters are willing to furnish certain information which is not strictly relevant to the dispute; but they resolutely decline an arbitration which could only proceed on a comparison of profits with wages. As it has been well remarked, they cannot compel their customers to refer to arbitration either the quantity of iron which they are to purchase or the price which they are to pay. Experiments which have from time to time been made by officiously benevolent Governments of attempts to fix the price of provisions or of other commodities have not been attended with success; nor would the South Wales workmen propose that the shopkeepers should supply them with goods on terms to be settled by arbitration. The allegation that the workmen might perhaps refuse to be bound by an award was one of the excuses which in all negotiations are substituted for the real objections to an unpalatable proceeding. The principle of arbitration is from the point of view of the masters wholly inadmissible; and the workmen, on the other hand, are contending for a share of the profits, although they have neither the ability nor the will to contribute to losses. The bulk of the community, who are interested only as consumers in the contests between employers and workmen, would probably suffer by any arbitrary adjustment of wages to profits. One of the chief causes of the great rise in the price of coal is the limitation of the supply by the colliers, who act under a vague impression that they will share in the advantage of high prices. A further advance in their wages would provide them with additional facilities for abstaining from work. The kind of partnership which they seek to establish with their owners will seldom tend to lower the cost of labour. In prosperous times the workman may claim to participate in increased profits, but the lower limit of wages will always be the amount which is necessary for subsistence for himself and his family. In trade disputes, as in all other controversies, impartiality is desirable, nor is it difficult to hold the balance even between masters and workmen; but there can be no indifferent bystanders in a struggle between the producers and the consumers of articles of the first necessity. An impulsive sentimentalist lately asserted that many rich inhabitants of London would rather have hanged the mutinous gas-stokers than have been deprived for a few days of the use of gas. The same feeble impetuosity would probably find vent in similar exaggerations of the general judgment which has been formed of the conduct of the South Wales colliers. It is perhaps true that disapproval of strikes may sometimes be produced by selfish motives, but a selfishness which is common to millions of consumers acquires a collective respectability.

The result of the South Wales strike might be confidently foretold if the final decision rested with the whole body of workmen; and the maintenance even of the colliers would exhaust, within a limited time, the funds or the patience of the Union. It now appears that the promoters of the strike were justified in their expectation that only a portion of the seceders would require assistance or support. Great numbers of the workmen have already found employment in the steam collieries; and some have probably migrated to more distant places. There appears to be no corresponding demand for the labour of the ironworkers, who are consequently in imminent danger of severe distress. As the demand for iron had previously slackened, the masters might bear with comparative equanimity the suspension of their industry if they were not threatened with foreign competition. The rapid succession of strikes in England will perhaps encourage production in other countries, and in some instances it may permanently transfer the superiority in cheapness or in quality to dangerous competitors. The American SECRETARY of the TREASURY lately alleged in his report to Congress that the progress of strikes in Europe would shortly render it unnecessary to foster American industry by protective duties. Struggles between masters and workmen have frequently and not inaccurately been described as wars; and belligerents have often found that the prize for which they had contended has passed into the possession of a neutral.

SCOTCH COUNTY ELECTIONS.

"PROGRESS under the direction of an educated minority," says the Bishop of MANCHESTER, in one of his Education Reports, "is just now the maximum desire of moderate-minded Englishmen; progress under the majority, whether 'educated or not, is the necessity of Americans.'" This was written six or seven years ago, and was true enough both of Englishmen and Scotchmen then. But in Scotland they have changed all that. The general election of 1868 has taken place since Dr. FRASER was in America, and the Ballot Act has passed since he became Bishop of MANCHESTER; and if he would think it worth while to direct his attention to the phases of Scotch political contests at the present moment, he would find that, whatever moderate-minded Englishmen may now desire, Scotchmen—at least the most Conservative of Scotchmen—have abandoned as idle or retrograde any notion of progress directed by minorities, and have been driven by force of circumstances into the "necessity of Americans." Henceforth the politics of the great Tory party in Scotland, if we may judge by the address of one of the candidates for Wigtownshire just published, and of which we shall speak more fully presently, are to be guided by the wishes of the masses in whose dictation the rank and file of the party are willing to acquiesce.

Three county elections have taken place within the last two months, and a fourth county seat is vacant. The proceedings in connexion with these seats are curious in a country where a Conservative reaction is proclaimed by the Conservative press almost every other day, and in the early prospect of a dissolution of Parliament they may warrant some detailed notice. There are now three estates in the Scotch political world—the Tories, the Whigs, and the Farmers. In the recent and pending elections these three have been and are engaged in a triangular struggle, in which, so far, the two former have rather had the worst of it. In one of the counties, Orkney and Shetland, the third class, being influential and unsophisticated, did not come to the front. The election turned mainly on the qualifications or disqualifications of the candidates; and, as was natural in a county with few openings in life for enterprising men, the Chairman or Director of several Companies, with the patronage of small posts in his gift, was preferred to an Irish tailor from Limerick with a suspected leaning towards Home Rule and few or no appointments to give away to young Orcadians. But in the two other counties, Kincardine and Forfar, the Whigs and Tories have been driven from the field, and the farmers have triumphed. They are united, and under the Ballot Act are fearless; and they turned a deaf ear to every candidate who was not prepared to pledge himself to redress what they consider their grievances. A landed proprietor with local influence and popularity issued a Liberal address to the electors of Kincardine, and a Conservative of large possessions in the county and unbounded wealth went down to "prospect" the constituency. But the Conservative went straightway home again, and the Liberal could not secure a vote outside his own park gates. An Indian General, whose only claim upon the constituency rested

on some connexion or relationship with JOSEPH HUME, came forward in the Radical interest, promised everything the farmers wanted, and was carried by acclamation. In Forfar a local Baronet (who was also an honours man at Oxford), backed by the Whig influence of the DALHOUSIE, PANMURE, and SOUTHEK estates, was early in the field proclaiming what at the last general election would have been considered advanced opinions. He canvassed the county, addressed meeting after meeting in the sanguine hope of securing a vote of confidence, advocating Young-Oxford Liberalism, offered to surrender his own opinions when they were opposed to those of the constituency, and to sit as their delegate, but it was all in vain. The hard-headed, horny-fisted farmers of Kincardine did not want a delegate. They considered Young-Oxford Liberalism to be crude and sentimental. They thought the candidate doubtful upon hares and rabbits, unsound on tenant right, and shifty on hypothec. They would have none of him, and now an orator from the town of Aberdeen represents, as an apostle of the farmers, the important county of Forfar, where till this year the territorial influence of the DALHOUSIE family was unshaken.

And while in the North political power has thus been surrendered to the new Third Estate, the prospects of the other two are even darker in the South. In the former case the Tory party were at least dignified and self-respecting. They abstained from intermeddling, and left the Whigs and farmers to fight it out. It is otherwise in Wigtown. In that county the struggle has hitherto been between the GALLOWAY influence on the Tory and the STAIR influence on the Liberal side. At the last election Lord GALLOWAY's eldest son, whose accession to the peerage creates the vacancy, defeated Sir ANDREW AGNEW, Lord STAIR's nominee, by a narrow majority. Now it is Lord STAIR's eldest son who comes forward, and his opponent is Lord GALLOWAY's nominee, a Mr. VANS AGNEW. Lord STAIR's son issued his address on the 11th of January, Mr. VANS AGNEW issued his upon the 15th. The former candidate promises to support the "great Liberal party," the latter to support the "great Conservative party." The Whig will help on Liberalism by abolishing the law of hypothec, surrendering hares and rabbits to the tenant, and securing to the tenants their unexhausted improvements. The Tory will help on Conservatism by securing to the tenants their unexhausted improvements, surrendering hares and rabbits, and abolishing the law of hypothec. And, in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the thoroughness of his sentiments, he announces that, "as to changes, we must follow the wishes of the community. All power really rests 'with the masses, and ultimately their wishes must be carried 'into effect.'" If the shades of the great DUNDASES, who, in the body, ruled Scotland not much more than half a century ago by hanging or transporting any of their countrymen who hazarded such opinions, take interest in the local politics of the present day, their minds must be strangely perplexed by the vagaries of their old party. The Tory candidate for the most exclusive county in Scotland abolishing the most sacred of territorial perquisites to gain a seat, and enunciating doctrines of tenant right and mob rule, is indeed a spectacle to move the spirits of the mighty dead. But the worst of it is, that it does not move the Wigtown farmer any more than Young-Oxford Radicalism moved the Forfar farmer. Since these addresses have been issued the farmers have held a meeting, and are not satisfied. *L'appétit vient en mangeant*, and the Scotch farmers are still hungry. Their success in the North has emboldened them in the South. Rightly or wrongly, they look upon hypothec and ground-game as doomed. They expect a law to secure them in their improvements, and they are still asking for more. Their programme of the future comprises the abolition of all feudal restrictions affecting land; the abolition of the law of entail; destruction of deer forests, and limitation of flying game; and, finally, something not very defined in their own minds, but which has an affinity to permanent tenure of their lands. This last branch of the programme is fortunately still enshrouded in the fogs and mists of an indefinite purpose, and has not yet received articulate public expression. But its bearings are clear enough. High farming is such an expensive operation, the soil demands so much, fencing demands so much, labour is so extravagant, improved machinery is so costly, labourers require such good houses and so many comforts—all of which we farmers must supply—that leases are of little value to us. Nineteen years and a large expenditure of capital are requisite to get farms into order, and twenty-five or thirty to make them remunerative. It is our capital which improves the land, and it is the landlord who reaps the benefit. Nineteen years run out and we have had no return. At the expiration of our leases rents are raised twofold or threefold. If we get our

farms again, we pay the landlord a premium on the use of our own capital; and if we do not renew our lease at these high rates, we are turned out of the land in which our capital is sunk, and have to begin the whole thing over again with a diminished capital. It is cheaper to buy the land and pay mortgage interest, and it is the landlord must be made to sell. The farmer and proprietor must be one. The ideal state is one in which some fifty years hence farmers will become proprietors and proprietors will become farmers.

This, or something like it, is the Scotch farmers' dream of the future, and it would appear as if they hope, bit by bit, to make it a reality. At the last election three-fifths of the Scotch members went up pledged to support the farming interest. At the next election, if things move onwards at the present pace, no candidate will have a chance in a Scotch county who is not prepared to do the bidding of the farmers. Five years ago Mr. BRIGHT expressed his sorrow for the poor Scotch laird as the most unrepresented of mankind. But even he could hardly have foreseen such blank annihilation as is now foreshadowed. It really is full time that they should bestir themselves if they mean to retain even a semblance of political power. Whether they are going the right way about it or not in Wigtownshire is another question. It is not surprising that the son and heir of what is called a great Liberal family should come forward as the farmers' friend; and perhaps it is only by inducing such men as Lord DALRYMPLE to stand that the representation of Scotland can be saved from falling into the hands of stump orators and adventurers. It is another matter when a candidate comes forward to solicit the suffrages of the great Conservative party and offers to pledge himself to vote with the party led by Lord SALISBURY and the Bench of Bishops on general questions, and with the member for Leicester on Game-laws, and Mr. BRADLAUGH's friends on land. Land transfer is no doubt a "Tory principle," but it is for that party to say whether they desire their principles to be carried out by forwarding the programme of the Land and Labour League.

MR. AYRTON'S RULES.

THE very clear, unanimous, and decided judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench on the appeal from a conviction by one of the police magistrates under the Parks Regulation Act should set at rest any doubts that may have been entertained as to the authority of the Crown over those domains. A few months ago a number of agitators thought fit to hold a public meeting in Hyde Park in order to express their contempt for the Government and to defy, or, as they called it, to test, the law. Their only reason for holding the meeting was that it was known to be a violation of certain rules which had been issued by the Ranger and the Board of Works under the Act of last Session. If there had been no rules to violate, they would have had no object in doing what they did. They took particular note of certain things which the rules posted at the gates of the Park forbade them to do, and deliberately did them. The pretext for the meeting, which was to get up a petition in favour of the Fenian prisoners, is of no consequence. It might have been held in a regular and legal manner, but the persons concerned resolved that everything they did should be in contravention of the law as laid down by the authorities. The police allowed the meeting to take place, but summoned the ringleaders before a magistrate, and one of them was convicted. It was an appeal against this conviction which the Judges of the Queen's Bench had to consider on Wednesday. The question was, whether the Ranger and the Chief Commissioner of Works had authority under the recent Act to enforce the rules with regard to the delivery of addresses and other matters. The Act contains a series of regulations as to certain things which are not to be permitted in any Park, except in accordance with the rules of the Park; and it authorises the Chief Commissioner, or in certain cases the Ranger, to make such rules as may be necessary. The Act further directs that these rules shall be forthwith laid before Parliament if Parliament is sitting, or, if not, then within three weeks after the beginning of the next Session; and gives power to either House of Parliament by a simple resolution to annul or alter any of the rules within a month after they are laid on the table. It was contended on the part of the appellant that the rules could not be enforced until they had been submitted to Parliament; but the Court held that the rules came into operation as soon as they were issued by the Ranger or Chief Commissioner, and that Parliament had power only to rescind them. Whatever may have been the intention of the authors

of the Act, there can be no doubt that this is its plain and literal meaning. It is obvious that, if Parliament intended that the rules should not be operative without its assent, Parliament should have said so; as it did not say so, the Judges declined to assume the existence of an intention which was not expressed in the Act. The counsel for the appellant did not venture to suggest that the LORD CHIEF JUSTICE and his colleagues might discover the intention with which the Act was passed by an examination of the reports of the debates. The Judges have already quite enough to do in trying to understand Acts of Parliament, without attempting to understand the speeches of members. It was proposed, however, that the Court should consider whether the rules were reasonable; but the Court very properly refused to consider anything except whether they came within the scope of the statute.

Mr. GREENE, the counsel for the appellant, happened in the course of his argument to light upon an unfortunate phrase. He spoke of the common-law rights of the public to the use of the Parks, and the Judges were down on him directly. Mr. Justice BLACKBURN observed that, if the public had any rights at common law with regard to the Parks, he had never heard of them. He had always been under the impression that the public had only certain privileges, which were exercised on sufferance by leave and license of the Crown. The CHIEF JUSTICE and the other Judges took the same view. Mr. GREENE confessed he was "rather startled" to hear this opinion. He had always supposed that the Act itself recognized certain public rights, and only regulated the exercise of them; but Mr. Justice MELLOR explained that, on the contrary, the public had no rights until the rules were issued. Mr. Justice BLACKBURN added that the public never had any rights beyond the right to use the Parks in such manner as the Crown chose to permit. After some further discussion, it began to dawn on Mr. GREENE that the Court put the Crown in the position of a private owner, just as if the Parks were the property of private gentlemen, and he was obliged to confess that, after this surprising discovery, he could carry the argument no further. Mr. GREENE has evidently some rather confused ideas as to the nature of public rights. Another of the rights for which he contended was the right of rioters to be arrested by the police and marched off to the lock-up. He complained that the police did not interfere with his client when he was engaged in breaking the law; and Mr. Justice BLACKBURN had to ask whether this argument was really put forward seriously. As the counsel answered very frankly "No!" the Judge had to fall back on the assumption that it was a joke. It was not perhaps a bad joke in its way, though out of place at the moment. There is a *Comic History of Rome* and a *Comic History of England*, and we believe there is a *Comic Blackstone*. If there is not, here is a capital opening for Mr. GREENE; and one of his funniest chapters should be that on the common-law right of the subject to be taken up by the police when he misconducts himself.

In support of the supposed public right to the use of the Parks Mr. GREENE referred to usage. But what has been the usage of the Parks? For some two hundred years or thereabouts the Crown has exercised absolute authority over Hyde Park. It has made rules, has altered and repealed them; it has conferred privileges and withdrawn them. It has fixed the hours during which the Park shall be open, and decided what kind of traffic shall be admitted, and what people may, and what they may not, do in the Park. Once the Park was kept as an open common. Afterwards a wall was built round it; then the wall was pulled down, and railings were substituted. At one time fairs and races were allowed in the Park. Hackney carriages, which are now excluded, were formerly admitted. At the present moment, as anybody can see who chooses to walk that way, the use of the Park is regulated in the most peremptory manner. There are parts of the Park where people may drive, and parts where they may ride, and other parts are reserved for pedestrians. There is not even a right of way through the Park, and the Crown can shut and open the gates when it chooses. There is no common-law right to ride in Rotten Row any more than there is a common-law right to set up booths by the side of it, or to run races along the Ladies' Mile. The Crown, in the exercise of its proprietary authority, chooses to permit Rotten Row to be used for riding, and forbids fairs and races; but, if it chose, it could allow races and fairs as in other days, and turn Rotten Row into a flower garden. As Chief Justice Cockburn said, whatever enjoyment of the Parks the public may have had has been entirely by the grace and favour of the Crown. In one sense the Crown is, no doubt, only another

name for Parliament, and the Parks may be described as public property. But that does not alter the fact that, as we have repeatedly pointed out, the authority of the officials who represent the Crown over the Parks corresponds precisely to the authority of any private owner. The public has no more right to hold a meeting in Hyde Park than in Knowle Park, or Blenheim, or Chatsworth. A meeting may be held if the proprietor chooses to allow it, but not otherwise. The mistake which pervades the whole of this foolish and discreditable agitation is that the right of the public to use the Parks in such a manner as the Crown or Parliament may choose to allow is confounded with a supposed right of the public to use the Parks exactly as it pleases. It is just as well that it should be understood that public property is not at the disposal of any members of the community for any purpose to which they may at any moment take it into their heads to apply it.

Mr. GLADSTONE unfortunately is not an authority recognized in Westminster Hall, or Mr. GREENE might have quoted him in support of his curious theory as to the common-law right of the public, or rather, to speak correctly, of a small and disorderly portion of the public, to override the authority of Parliament and the rights of the Crown. When Sir A. COCKBURN was one of the law officers of the Government he gave an opinion as to the authority of the Crown over the Parks, which was endorsed by two other eminent lawyers, and which was identical with that now laid down by the Court of Queen's Bench. Mr. GLADSTONE was a member of a Government which took steps to act upon this opinion in 1866, and we never heard that he remonstrated with his colleague, Sir GEORGE GREY, for the course he was prepared to pursue. But soon afterwards Mr. GLADSTONE found himself in Opposition; and when the Government of the day attempted to carry out the instructions which their predecessors had drawn up and left in the pigeon-holes of Downing Street, Mr. GLADSTONE discovered that the rights of the People were sacred, and not to be measured by legal precedents or opinions. The practice of using the Parks for other purposes than those of recreation and exercise is, as the CHIEF JUSTICE remarked, of modern growth, and has certainly been productive of something more than casual inconvenience. The meetings in the Park may not matter much, comparatively speaking, in themselves. They are, indeed, a serious nuisance, and some day they may lead to rioting and bloodshed. But after all that is a comparatively small part of the mischief connected with them. The great evil is the blow which has been struck at authority, and at the very principle of authority. From the first it was obvious that the meetings were utterly illegal. They were an invasion of the common-law rights of the Crown, and they were not sanctioned by any Parliamentary enactment. But at the time they served a party purpose, and were condoned. Mr. BRIGHT and Mr. GLADSTONE not only countenanced, but encouraged and invited, these breaches of the law; and one of the ringleaders has been promoted to the Bench. Whether meetings in the Parks are expedient or not, there can be only one opinion as to the pernicious consequences of the policy which has been pursued in regard to them. Grave misconceptions on the subject have been produced among ignorant and violent classes of the community, and everything has been done to weaken authority and to bring the law into contempt. Mr. AYRTON's conduct with regard to the Park Rules appropriately closes a series of blunders which are almost criminal in their wantonness and imbecility.

THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE SCHOOLS.

IT is a distinction of our older English Universities that they have a life in themselves, and do not draw their vitality from the State; they neither take its money, nor do they get protection for their degrees in the way of exclusive privileges. Having thus an inherent life, they can shoot out in various directions, and they have accordingly instituted various kinds of examinations, some for youths and some for women, all over the country; not that it was their especial business to do so, but because they saw certain educational wants, and also saw that they could meet them. A foreign University has its duties laid down by the Government, and would no more think of stepping beyond them than the Home Office would think of busying itself with the Fine Arts. Indeed every Government department is usually on the look out to avoid having extra work thrown on it. "This is not our department" is their constant cry. But men or bodies who are doing their own work, and who are in earnest about it, are not so particular in mapping out the boundary of their duties, although they will be sensible enough to know that if they are too diffusive they will effect nothing. We welcome then these expansions of University action, as

showing a healthy independent life; but we can well understand that persons at work in the Universities, without being obstructive, may think it right to warn these bodies that they have higher and more especial functions than that of superintending the secondary instruction of the country.

A German Professor, who, with his national habit, would look first to the interests of learning herself, while we in England look chiefly to the learners, would join in these notes of warning. He would, we think, gladly recognize in such extensions that "life in every limb" which he has been taught to look for in our English community, and the value of which, since France has shown the weakness of a dead mechanism worked by one huge engine, is getting more and more understood abroad. But he would say something like this:—"See that there is no danger of your leading people to forget that your proper function is liberal education and the higher learning only, that as a University you must be judged by your action on them, that all else is subsidiary. What seems to the mass more immediately useful, more bearing on 'bread and butter,' they will think ought to be the main concern with you. Do nothing to countenance this impression. Your first duty to England is to be the sanctuary of the highest cultivation, especially in those studies which are not pursued for gain. You have stood out against the thousand quackeries of the age, maintaining, what in Germany no one doubts, that to form is no less important than to fill. You have kept alive in the country a good standard of thoroughness and excellence. You will have to fight a battle to maintain this; for a despotism of mediocrity is threatening our civilization, and it will try to crush all greatness—intellectual eminence among the rest. Don't weaken yourselves by extending your front overmuch. With anything like technical education you have nothing whatever to do; technical skill meets with ready markets, and the market will create a supply for itself. No doubt you may properly see that those who are coming to you are well taught, and in so doing you may render some help to those who are going elsewhere; but do not let yourself be pulled off your own footing through holding out a helping hand."

Something like these oracular utterances would be heard from our Professor, and we should be inclined to think his warnings uncalled for, and savouring of the inveterate German way of looking at things "in the large"; but those who have had the patience to read the letters in the *Times* on the recent Conference of Head-Masters will find the generalities of our weird German friend translated into the particular and the palpable. Some of the schoolmasters seem to think that the Universities exist chiefly in order to provide a market for every kind of ware they fabricate. They are clamouring for "encouragement" from without for every item of common school instruction, as if they had lost the power of rewarding or stimulating their own boys. By "encouragement" they seem to mean that every single thing they teach should be made the subject of examination at the Responsions or the Littlego. Surely there are now Schools at Oxford and Triposes at Cambridge in every branch of learning which is fitted for examination; even an ordinary degree can be taken *vid* chemistry, or history, or botany, or almost anything you please. But these examinations are too remote, they say, to act on boys at school; hence they call out—with "We are they who ought to speak" reverberating through all they say—for the introduction into the first University examination of all those subjects "without which no gentleman's education is complete."

Now, if one conclusion more than another has worked itself clear as regards the action of examinations, it is that a pass examination on this microcosm principle is mentally injurious. We even believe that this pulling many ways at once will be found to be both physiologically and psychologically destructive; and the only end answered by a multifarious course is that the teaching body may thrust its programme in the face of the public and say, "We teach all these things; if our pupils forget them it is their fault; we saw that they knew them once." If, to avoid diversity of subjects, you offer a great number of alternatives, then you destroy the unity of teaching, and bring about the evils which the masters very rightly complain of in the multiplicity of Entrance Examinations. Subjects may be of such a nature that, though excellent for education, they may be so ill suited for examination as even to lose a great part of their educational effect when they are studied with a compulsory examination in immediate view. A tutor and his pupils may read Shakspeare together with the greatest advantage, but as soon as the pupil is drawn into the whirlpool of an examination he will study nothing but the introductions, and the notes to the hard passages, and the study ceases to be beneficial. A knowledge of modern languages may be easily tested by examination, and it is proposed at Cambridge to admit this in place of Greek for candidates for honours; but these subjects are attended by this difficulty, when we would award distinction by means of them, that some of the candidates may be examined in what is practically their native tongue; it is remarked that the prizes at school in modern languages commonly fall to boys with foreign names.

Now the Universities have stored up a fund of experience in examining in a great variety of subjects; for there is hardly any kind of knowledge which is not made the matter of examination in the Local Examinations or for some University or College Scholarship; and as debates about examinations and their action are constantly going on, we may fairly suppose that the Universities are acquainted with their own speciality, and that they know what

they want to effect by their own examinations, and may be left to decide what is best for their own students. Moreover, we are told that one-third of the undergraduates do not come from schools at all, and the University in framing its system must not leave these out of consideration.

The Committee of Head-Masters, two years ago, laid before the Universities certain propositions; amongst other things they invited the Universities both to examine and inspect their schools. A Government inspection was threatened, and it was thought that an inspection by a Board organized by the Universities would be accepted by the Government. The Universities promptly took steps in the matter; conferences of Committees of the Universities with each other and with the Head-Masters were at once held, and the outline of a scheme has been drawn up. Some Masters object to it; nothing yet ever satisfied everybody. The pressure of the Government is now less felt. Mr. Lowe's pleasant proposition to subject our great schools to the hands of our Inspectors of National Schools, with regard to spelling and arithmetic, has died out of mind, and some of the Masters find particular objections to the particular form of action proposed. It seems to us that the question admits of solution on the simple principle that those who like it should adopt the proposal, and that those who do not should leave it alone. The controversy would have been somewhat technical and dry had not one or two scholastic gentlemen asserted their superiority to residents in the University generally, and shown how preposterous it was to suppose that they could submit to inspection at their hands. Scholastic communities in confined localities are prone to a self-complacency which our German friend would recognize as a variety of "Kleinstadterei." We rather gather from the tone of these writers that the only person whom they could trust to judge of themselves and of their work would be a being so rarely gifted that we doubt whether the Government or any other body could command his services. At the bottom of all their objection lies the question (not expressed), "Why should we be inspected at all?" and we are not indisposed to join in this question as far as concerns those of the first-grade schools which are most under the public eye. On the large schools public opinion acts freely; the Paterfamilias who has a complaint is only too well pleased to write to the *Times*, and marches out of his club a larger man in every dimension when he has seen himself in type, and feels that he is agitating society "unknown." It may be true that a boy who comes to a stationary position somewhere in the fifth form knows little in the classical and next to nothing in the modern department; but would any inspection remedy this? Possibly the classes may in some cases be too large; but the Masters are able, and work themselves to death. The evil lies in parental indulgence, in the all-importance of ease and amusement, which is impressed on the boys, not by word, but by the surer agency of doings, in every hour of their home life, and in the consequent current way of thinking and want of stamina among the boys. These defects originate with society rather than with the schools, and would not be removed by inspection. On the other hand, in many schools there is vigorous work going on throughout, every kind of material is made to receive all the polish it can take, and this kind of conscientious work would be best brought to light by a system of inspection—that is to say, by an inquiry into the state of each *class* in the school; for to test the condition of each *boy*, which is what some seem to understand by inspection, would be too costly in money and time. Moreover, even if the Government does not step in—and we think that the recent correspondence will lead any functionary who has not a passion for hot water to keep as clear of first-grade schoolmasters as he can—the Governing Body may wish to have, if not yearly, yet from time to time, a thorough investigation of the state of their school; even a Head-Master may be glad of such information, and in case of any shortcomings in the lower forms might feel his hands strengthened in dealing with that easily aggrieved personage, the assistant master, by the report of an independent Inspector.

It seems to us then to be desirable that in the first instance the inspection should be voluntary, and that the system should be left to grow according to its merits. The argument that University Inspectors could have no compulsory powers seems to us to tell in favour of University inspection. Each Governing Body would decide whether to have its school inspected or not; if any doubts about the state of the school were afloat, public opinion would enforce such an inspection, especially if the means were ready at hand. Government inspection could hardly be so plastic; moreover, the presence of a Government Inspector in a school would give the boys an idea that it was not they themselves who were being put on their trial so much as their masters. They would be brought to see that there was a greater person in the world than Dr. Busby, and then the Doctor's authority would be gone; whereas boys are used to University examiners, examination and inspection shade off into one another, and there would be no show of external authority in the plan proposed. Again, if the Government undertook inspection, they would be expected to include sanitary and disciplinary matters. An Inspector is usually wild about cubic feet, and would drive House-Masters into fury by measuring the bedrooms. Now such supervision, though in some cases desirable, is little required in the first-grade schools, because the mothers of pupils are so keen about such matters that a Master's interest is involved in providing all material comforts for his boarders, and the present boarding-houses compete in luxurious arrangements.

The proposal of the Universities amounts to little more than an

offer to undertake methodically and generally what has hitherto been done without system and on a small scale. Cambridge has really inspected of late about a dozen schools a year, but University examiners are provided under the statutes of most schools, and there is nothing to prevent these schools being examined just as they were before. The chief change proposed is that the examiners shall be appointed, or at least approved, by a Board formed of members of both Universities, which might lay down a few general instructions for the mode of inspection, and in the first instance receive the reports, which they would hand over to the Governing Bodies. It is made quite clear that the functions of the Inspector do not extend to reporting on what should be taught, but only to show how far the teaching is effective. When we see the names of Dr. Bradley, Dr. Kennedy, and Dr. Westcott among the promoters of the scheme—and so, we may suppose, probable members of the proposed Board—we cannot but think that the schools will find that they are in the hands of those who are more likely to understand their wants than any Government Commission. Further, the Masters of schools are themselves usually members of Convocation or of the Senate, and in that capacity they have a voice in regulating these matters. Any new measures will be discussed where they can be present and speak, which is material as affording them the feeling that they are themselves acting on themselves, and not subjected merely to action from without. Again, the financial aspect of the matter gives a result in favour of the University plan; for we find, by contrasting the fees paid by the University to Examiners with those paid by the Civil Service Commission, a vast difference in favour of the former, while the work is done just as well, and in some cases done by the very same people. This comes of what we said at the outset—the difference between working for a body of which a man forms part, and doing work for somebody else. But in addition to the Examiners the Government would require a Board of good scholars as a council of education to organize and superintend, and the members of this Board would have to be highly paid, while the Universities will provide all the administration, and find men of the highest capacity to do it gratuitously. Now as the country is not to pay for the education of the higher classes, the money must be extracted from the schools; that is to say, it will come out of the pockets either of the schoolmasters or of the parents. So that the public is interested in employing the cheapest machinery.

The University Inspectors, we may suppose, would be appointed by the above-named Board for a short period—say three years at first. It by no means follows that they should be University residents any more than the Local Examiners are. Those Inspectors who acquitted themselves satisfactorily would be re-appointed, and thus we should secure at last, by a kind of selection, a body of Inspectors more likely to be efficient than if they had held life appointments, as Government officials probably would. Moreover, considering as we do that independence is the life-blood of educational work, we think that the schools are safer with the Universities—who have a common cause with the schools in this point—than in the hands of a Government department, for the official spirit delights in hard lines. In France the teachers declare that they are "assassinated" by "réglementation." The Masters in England would have to be on the watch against the Government to see that their control did not extend itself from the manner to the matter of the teaching. Let it be recollected, that whenever the schools have come into the hands of the Government, *great schoolmasters* have ceased to be produced, although great scholars may have been schoolmasters.

The tone of the late correspondence may bring about some opposition at the Universities, especially with those who are mainly interested in the Universities as seats of learning. Some, too, may think that the Universities already have their hands full. These points we must leave to the residents, but we do not see that the programme of the scheme goes beyond what we should be glad to see the Universities taking in hand, if they have the means; and they have had so much experience in organizing extensive systems of examination that they may be trusted to judge of their own competency to do well what they undertake without detriment to their higher functions. Whether school inspection be generally adopted or not, we hope that the proposed "Leaving Examinations" in the whole work of each school will be carried into effect; and we quite concur in the wish expressed in the recent letter of a Head-Master, that this may lead to the discouragement of the system of specializing a boy's studies too early. The Universities, we believe, are alive to the evils which have arisen from the present open Scholarship system; and we think that the projected Board may be the means of bringing about that joint action between the Universities for want of which they have drifted into a system which hardly any College approves, but which each must adopt, or be content to go without its share of the abler young men.

DE MORTUIS.

AN old controversy springs up afresh at the death of every remarkable man upon whose merits there has been any considerable divergence of opinion. Each side has a commonplace to allege in defence of its own view. We should not speak evil of the dead, urges one party; and the other replies that we should speak the truth of every one, dead or alive. Undoubtedly this last

doctrine has an apparent advantage in point of sincerity and honesty. Is there not something offensive about the sudden change of sentiment which follows the death of such a man as the late Emperor of the French? When people who have been denouncing him whilst alive as a tyrant, a traitor, and a corrupter of society, suddenly affect a generosity which no longer costs them anything, and grow sentimental over the coffin of the man whom they used to revile, is not such generosity more insulting than continued animosity? The tears of enemies are not a proof that they have ceased to be enemies, but merely that they have ceased to be afraid. They were libellous before as they are now hypocritical. The friends of the deceased are excusable if they reject such posthumous praises with something like disgust. Flattery of the dead is merely satire in disguise, for every good word implies that the dead man must have had some exceedingly bad qualities which prevented even his better qualities from being recognized during his lifetime. The rule, therefore, should be, according to some persons, that death ought to make no difference. When a murderer is hanged, he is not converted into a saint. Death places a man beyond the reach of our hostility; but whatever lessons should be drawn from his career are precisely the same before and after it has reached its conclusion. The only difference, therefore, should be that we need no longer stimulate hostility. The judgment may be delivered without the passion which was pardonable during the heat of conflict; but the judgment itself should not be in any way altered. We can afford, it should be said, to regard your wickedness without active indignation now that it can lead to no fresh crimes; but what was wicked remains wicked to the end of time.

So far, indeed, there cannot be much dispute; but such reflections are not decisive of the controversy. There is, in fact, an obvious alternative. The maxim of speaking no evil of the dead may be interpreted to mean that we should hold our tongues if we have nothing good to say. Or, if absolute silence be impossible, we may, without concealing our unfavourable opinions, prefer rather to dwell upon that side of a man's character which has been least objectionable. Why, in fact, should we think it incumbent upon us to sum up the good and bad qualities of our neighbours as soon as they have left us? We are altogether too anxious to effect an accurate classification of men's characters, and to place them distinctly amongst the sheep or the goats. Innumerable historical controversies are carried on as to the inscrutable question whether somebody long dead should have a black or a white mark placed against his name. Why place either? How are we ever to say distinctly whether Cromwell or Mary Queen of Scots belonged to the saints or the sinners? Is not that rather a question for schoolboys than for grown-up men? A favourite motion in debating societies used to be that the character of so-and-so is deserving of admiration; but, as we grow older, we discover that our opinion of human beings is not to be packed into any such summary formula. We learn by experience the infinite complexity of human impulses, and the impossibility of fairly unravelling all the complicated skein of motive that goes to determine our own actions, to say nothing of the actions of other people. Who are we that we should profess to penetrate the bosoms of our neighbours, and by some spiritual calculus to sum up precisely the value of the good and the bad ingredients? By sufficient care we can arrive at some kind of knowledge of what people actually did; we may be able to decide what was Cromwell's system in Ireland, and whether Mary did or did not blow up her husband with gunpowder. In a rough way we may infer something as to the qualities by which such actions were prompted. It would be difficult, for example, to approve unequivocally of a lady who should be demonstrated to be a murderess and an adulteress. Yet even in such a case it is not easy to say how much allowance should be made for a vast variety of perplexing circumstances, for temptations which we have not experienced, and for motives which at best we can very imperfectly analyse. Still less is it easy to say how many good qualities may remain unextinguished side by side with great vices, and unable to restrain their possessors from grievous crimes. Here and there is a man who is nearly all bad, and another who is nearly all good. But in the infinite majority of cases the problem is so complex as to evade our feeble powers of analysis. As a rule, it is better to decline an impracticable task. Even amongst our own friends whom we see daily, and whose conduct may be tested in an infinite variety of ways, we are generally bewildered if we attempt to place them irrevocably in some mental pigeon-hole; and we are constantly making new discoveries which show how little we could have predicted their action under some fresh combination of circumstances. Why then endeavour to pronounce confidently about people at a far greater distance from us, of whose character we can judge only by remote inferences from uncertain evidence? We can in some degree trace out the consequences which have flowed from particular courses of conduct. We can see how the work done by one man has fallen to pieces with his death, and how the work done by another continues to bear fruit to remote generations. So far we may infer that he laboured on behalf of a sound or an unsound principle; and we may be grateful to him or pity him accordingly. But it is quite another thing to infer that the man who fought for a good cause was actuated by unselfish motives and a clear perception of the truths involved; or that the man who fought for a bad cause must therefore have had a corrupt heart and a muddled understanding. There are good and able men and there are bad and vicious men on all sides, or the world would be a great deal worse off than it is; for, as a rule, no

side has a monopoly of the truth; and it is to be feared that, if good causes were supported only by men of correspondingly good character, they would have a very small minority of defenders. As a rule, in fact, the condemnation of some conspicuous actor means that we are opposed to his party. A Protestant argues that Mary must have committed murder because her theology was wrong; and a Roman Catholic that Cromwell must have been a hypocrite because he did not believe in the Pope. The calmness with which people set down every conspicuous adversary of their own opinions as wicked, though admitting in general terms that virtue is not confined to their own party, shows how valueless are most judgments of character. The circumstance which is most distinctly irrelevant is that which has practically by far the greatest influence on the verdicts which we pronounce. The tendency is curiously illustrated in Mr. Carlyle's writings. Regarding history as the record of the achievements of a few giants surrounded by a vast multitude of dwarfs, he always attributes to his heroes a distinct consciousness of all the results that flowed from their actions, and infers that their motives were correspondingly excellent. Yet surely it is a very rash assumption that because Frederick, for example, conferred great benefits upon Germany, therefore the advantage to Germany, and not the advantage to his own private interests, was his guiding principle. The truth would seem to be very different. When any great political change is useful to the mass of mankind, it is generally the plain interest of some distinguished leader to place himself at the head of the resulting movement; and it generally follows that we are quite unable to say whether selfish ambition or a wider patriotism determined his actions. Did men like Cromwell and Napoleon seize the government because they thought that the national interest required it, or because they wished to be rulers? They could probably not have answered the question themselves, and it is rash to give any decided answer for them.

The inference would seem to be that we should be much more cautious than we generally are in expressing an opinion about men's characters, whether dead or alive. We can very safely leave the question in other hands, and rather confine ourselves to the results of a man's actions than attempt the investigation of the hidden sources from which they flowed. In short, it is a sufficient reason for not speaking evil of the dead that we are for the most part in great ignorance whether or not he deserved it. The rule, it is true, applies equally during a man's life; but it is chiefly on occasion of his death that we are tempted to place ourselves in the judgment seat and sum up as though we had all the evidence before us. It would be more becoming at such a time to feel the depth of our own incapacity. Imputations of evil motive are so far excusable during a man's lifetime that they may force him to give an account of himself, and keep up a due sense of responsibility. It is extremely desirable that a man should be compelled to make the purity of his motives as plain as possible; and the greatest pressure we can put upon him arises from the free criticism of his antagonists. When he is dead that reason passes comparatively out of sight; he is no longer responsible to any human tribunal; and we may fairly recognize the impossibility of making any exhaustive summary of his motives. The feeling which leads us to attempt such a task is indeed natural enough, and requires some sort of satisfaction. The death of a great man is the closing scene of a striking drama. If his career has any coherency and completeness about it, it teaches some lessons, though it may leave us in utter darkness as to the actor's own qualities. Why, it may be asked, should we be more affected by the death of the Emperor than by the innumerable tragedies that are being acted all round us? Thousands of other people are dying in torture in hospitals and in hovels to whom we are more closely related. Many of them, it may be, have led far purer and nobler lives than any Minister or Emperor in the world. No gleam of secure happiness may ever have brightened their existence; whereas the Emperor, however melancholy may have been his last days, had some twenty years of exuberant prosperity. Is it not unphilosophical to be more affected by the death of the single conspicuous person than by the death of the thousands of fellow-creatures whose sufferings have been quite as poignant, and, it may be, less merited? The answer is plainly that it is not a question of philosophy. If we endeavoured to distribute our sympathy in accurate proportion to the mass of suffering, we should, according to the common illustration, be more moved by the destruction of a million of men in China than by the slaughter of half-a-dozen passengers in an English railway accident. Fortunately, however, for our peace of mind, we do not deal out our sympathy after this fashion. The effect upon the imagination is the measure of our feeling. A single death in our immediate neighbourhood affects us more deeply than any number of deaths in a remote country, not merely for selfish reasons, but because we can realize the details with incomparably greater distinctness. On the same principle we are influenced by the death of any distinguished person. We do not go through a statistical calculation as to the exact amount of suffering produced; but we are moved as we are moved by a tragedy. It is a question of poetry, not of reasoning. An incident which forms part of history moves us, not merely by its own intrinsic importance, but by all the associations which it brings up. The death of an old woman in the next street may sadden us if we happen to know her, and may suggest some reflections on sanitary reform. The death of a man who has played a conspicuous part on the stage of European politics carries the mind backwards and forwards through a long series of the most important events. The man's own personal interest sinks out of notice in comparison

with all the reflections suggested by his share in a great historical process. And therefore personal dislike is out of place, because it vulgarizes the sentiments suggested. Mere antipathy to the individual sounds paltry and pitiful in presence of thoughts as to the interests of nations and of mankind at large. The mind should be raised to a region where all personal dislikes seem infinitely petty and contemptible. The tone of feeling most in harmony with such reflections should be too solemn to admit of the intrusion of our little antipathies. We should be rather disposed to feel how imperfect are the judgments which we pass upon each other, and to regard censorious verdicts as something profane in the presence of loftier interests. Truth, of course, should not be sacrificed; nor should we speak with affected kindness of one of whom we really disapprove. But the expression of mere party or personal feelings is out of place at such solemn moments. They may be right or wrong; but they jar upon us like a false note in music, at a time when our minds should be attuned to a deeper strain of emotion.

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

WHEN Britain first at heaven's command arose from out the azure main it was a very little place indeed, being about twelve miles by twelve, or under a hundred thousand acres, forming in a wide sea a small island now known as the heathy hills of the Longmynd and the Stiper stones on the borders of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire. But this first gem of the ocean was not, in a geological sense, destined long to maintain its place above those ancient waters; for just as the unnumbered islands of the Pacific are now slowly sinking and being swallowed up in growing reefs of coral, so this nucleus of old England sank steadily into a sea which we dare not call primeval; and, as it sank, the pebbly beach, strewn with bones of old cuttle-fish, heads and tails of trilobites, corals, Pentameri and other shells, crept in and in upon the land, till at length the last vestige of what we can hardly call our island disappeared beneath the waves, and its place for incalculable cycles of time was known no more. As the island sank deeper and deeper still, thousands of feet of Upper Silurian strata gathered thick above it; and the old life had long before almost all died away, or, like Bottom, been "translated" into a newer series of forms.

The physical relations of all these strata to each other was still a mystery to geologists long after "Father" Smith had conquered and reduced the Carboniferous and Secondary areas almost to perfect order. Nearly all that was known of the rocks of Wales was that, from underneath the Old Red Sandstone, called by Smith *Red Rhaf* and *Dunstone*, there rose, in the land of the Cymry, certain slaty rocks known to miners as Killas. Here was an almost unknown land tempting the ambition of any one able to bring order out of chaos, and in the fulness of time Sedgwick and Murchison marched into the field, conquered, and took possession. The first, full of energy and power, struck at once into the mountain fastnesses of North Wales, and in a series of brilliant operations he brought nearly the whole of that tumultuous territory into subjection, and reduced it into comparative order, in spite of all its faults and convulsive throes, and called it Cambria. In like manner he mastered the wilds of Cumberland. The second went to work like the old soldier that he was, and, fixing his headquarters at Ludlow, at the bottom of an Old Red Sandstone escarpment, he established a basis of operations; and thence, creeping into the interior, he steadily advanced his lines westward along the scarped cliffs of Aymestry and Wenlock, through all the territory of Caradoc, down into the interior of South Wales, and gave to the whole conquered region the name of Siluria. At a period somewhat later De la Bêche with his staff again overran the whole of Wales, and the separate kingdoms of Cambria and Siluria were by him merged into one, while sundry allies in the North reduced all the South of Scotland, from the Mull of Galloway to the Lammermuir Hills and St. Abb's Head, under the same dominion.

But something yet remained to be done before these more primitive parts of Great Britain could be considered as fairly vanquished. Accordingly, after two successful campaigns in Russia, the old Silurian chief betook himself to the mountains of Scotland north of the Great Valley, and in three great forays revolutionized the country from the Grampians to Cape Wrath, converting so-called dead Azoic masses, dimly misunderstood and unintelligible, into well-proved Silurians, charged in some places with an old-world life. But a revolution that abolished all old titles North of the Grampians was not effected without opposition. Shall Ben Lawers and Ben Nevis, Ben More and Ben Mic Duibh, and nearly all the dual territory of Sutherland, be hoisted up in the scale as a comparatively new geological province without regard to the time-honoured nomenclature of the mighty Werner, Jamieson of Edinburgh his lieutenant, and others their less powerful followers? Shall the soul of Lyell be made glad and the ghost of the great Hutton look down and smile approvingly while the primitive images so long worshipped of Gneiss and Micaceous Chlorite and Talc-slate, Quartz and Crystalline Limestone are cast down and denuded of the halo that glorified them in the eyes even of their high-priests, and invested them in the eyes of the people with an antiquity so dim and sacred that even to disturb it was a sin? What then shall remain of primeval faith? Scarcely a vestige. And must its few remaining ministers, shrinking from the light, feel that they are doomed to

fall into the ranks of those "partial spirits" who "still aloud complain," and "think themselves injured that they cannot reign"? But what availed the despairing wail of votaries for deities dispossessed? They were doomed to "receive the truth to whom 'twas pain to hear"; and in this manner the foundations of Great Britain were secured on a solid basis, resting, however, on older provinces, fragments of which here and there peep out in the stormy Hebrides, and on the still vexed shores about Cape Wrath. And just as from the disintegrated fragments of the old Roman Empire the modern nations of our Western world were formed, so by the crumbling waste of old Siluria the Old Red Sandstone grew around and over the ancient nucleus. Above its waters stood the Grampians, the mountains now called Cumberland, and icebergs dropped their stony freights on the storm-edged shores. Thus old matter was rearranged and accreted, and insensibly passed onward into that period when the growth and death and slow decay of dim and dreary forests in huge peat mosses and interminable flats resulted in the burial of that vegetable wealth which men call coal. During the process of its formation land and water alternated in the same area hundreds of times; and so vast was the period consumed in these operations, that in what we now call Wales the coal relics of the earliest wood lie ten thousand feet underneath the highest buried forest; and between them a hundred terrestrial surfaces, each one of which bore vegetable growths which, had men lived to see them, would have seemed each in itself as venerable as those vast forests of the modern world that poets misname primeval.

Change is the one great law of the universe, and with growing age and slow physical revolutions all this came to an end; and when, in a succeeding epoch, the great ice-formed boulder beds known in Germany as the Red-dead-liers, and the Magnesian limestone had been laid in salt inland seas upon this our land, with these died out the last dwindling relics, few in number and shrunk in size, of that great old life which heretofore peopled the world. Then came "an awful pause prophetic of its end"; the Palæozoic succession had ceased to be; the old times were gone for ever; and as we imperfectly read it, a great gap appears in history between that closing scene and a newer life which links it to our own. A volume of old-world history has, in fact, not yet been altogether found. Society is very slow to change, and if new and changed forms have grown from older lives, the lapse of time between the dead old races and the new life that spread across our world denotes a period so vast that the human mind loses itself in the vain attempt to realize its meaning.

Had we space to rehearse the remainder of our story, we might indite the history of the arid shores of the great bitter salt lakes which, in times called by the Teuton *Bunter* and *Keuper*, lay partly within the bounds of Britain; and later still of that secondary portion of our history when a land called Liassic and Oolitic age lay half submerged, and in a subtropical sea bloomed as a group of beautiful islands feathered with coniferous wood, tree-ferns, and araucarias, round whose sunny shores cuttle-fishes innumerable darkened the sea with squirts from their sepian ink-bags, in their efforts to escape from glittering horny-scaled fishes, themselves the prey of giant fish-lizards, and their swan-necked allies the plesiosaurs; while above, the air was darkened by the wings (rather small) of flying dragons. Along with these, a relic of the good old brachiopod molluscs, rhynchonella and terebratula, battled well and successfully to hold their places in an altered and upstart lammellebranchiate marine world, along with which fantastic ammonites shoved the old straightforward orthoceras and the simple goniatite aside. From this luxurious state of affairs the country rose again into greater prominence; a wide-spreading land prevailed, and a vast river rolled its waters into an estuary (by moderns called the Weald), where reptile would-be two-legged bipeds devoid of feathers, the progenitors (?) of birds, aped the graces of geese and men. How long this state of affairs lasted no man as yet knows; but this we know, that it was brought to an end by the swallowing up of so much of Great Britain in the sea that only the tips of its mountains were bared to the air, while all the surrounding ocean was being overspread with deep layers of chalk. This period of depression came to an end at length, and Britain once more lifted up her drooping head, and rose to the day-star, in times called by men Eocene or the Dawn of our peculiar day, when beautiful things were made new—palæotheria and deer-like anoplotheria. These were the ancestors of all our modern types of mammalia, and during their time England was, perhaps, sometimes united to the Continent by physical ties now happily severed.

Common historians are apt to attach undue importance to the story of their own immediate times, and thus it happens that in some political histories the whole history of Great Britain before the Norman Conquest may be slurred over in a shorter space than the history of the Reform Bill of 1832. As we approach our own day we are inclined to run wild in that direction; and therefore, reversing the method adopted by Macaulay in his wonderful summary of the Roman period of Britain, we will attempt to compress the main history of our latter days in a few lines. We have said that England was joined to the Continent in Eocene times. Since then it has been disunited and rejoined to it again and again, and by some it is believed that in those middle-aged times called Miocene the first great migration of the immediate ancestors of the present northern mammalia migrated to our shores, more

varied and beautiful in form than aught that preceded them. This state of things, shifting yet the same, continued for long periods of time, both before and after those dark days when, like antarctic Victoriana and Greenland, Britain was shrouded in snow and thick-ribbed ice, and terrestrial life for a time may have almost disappeared. Twice at least was the land half lost in the sea, again to rise up refreshed, and each time the banished mammals returned with new associates, among whom at last, wandering across the broad plains that joined England to France, was the early race of man. Then for the first time in these regions

neighing steeds were heard
Unheard before by gods and wondering men;

and many animals, now domestic, mingled with the hippopotamus and rhinoceros, the ponderous elephant, and so many of those carnivorous beasts which still roam through parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. With these, man, issuing from his wigwams and caves, long waged a constant warfare for food, by no means over-nice whether he devoured a horse, a deer, an ox, a wolf, an otter, or a badger; and at length, having exterminated the noxious carnivora, he now enjoys his land all the more that

Its high upreared and abutting fronts
The perilous narrow ocean parts asunder

from all direct neighbourhood with Continental allies or rivals. It will be well for all concerned should it so remain till the increasing eccentricity of the earth's orbit shall bring on a new Glacial period some fifty thousand years hence, and begin to banish man from the Northern half of Europe. Into the political situation consequent on that coming event it is, however, scarcely worth while to enter now; we would only say that it behoves the Minister for the Colonies to see that our intertropical possessions are kept in good order for the coming migration, for the fortunes of the British islands will then be far below zero. One cold comfort remains—the universal northern ice-sheet may possibly solve the Irish difficulty.

JUDAIC SERMONS.

WHEN Queen Elizabeth had any measure in hand, her manner, we used to be told, was to "tune the pulpits." We say "as we used to be told," because we have not, for the purposes of the present speculation, gone and minutely got up the historical fact. We bow for once to the doctrine that truth and falsehood do not greatly matter. That is to say, there may be truth of another kind in a statement which is historically false. For some purposes a spurious document may prove as much as a genuine one. For some purposes a romance may prove as much as an authentic history. And so, in some cases, a belief or tradition, even a groundless belief or tradition, that a certain person did so and so proves as much as if it had been the fact that he did it. So in this way, if any pedant, if any searcher after minute antiquarian accuracy, should be able to show that there is no ground to believe that Queen Elizabeth or her counsellors ever used a phrase which seems to savour so much of slang as that of "tuning the pulpits," it will not greatly concern us. It is quite certain that something very like what is understood by tuning the pulpits did go on in those days. The metaphor, or something like it, was one not unfamiliar in that quaint age. There is a story of a pair of sixteenth-century churchwardens being called on at a visitation to make a presentment as to the state of the bells. Among the bells they presented the pulpit as a bell which had for a long time lacked a clapper. That is to say, translating the presentment out of its allegorical dress, the parish had been a long while without a preaching minister. We may well believe that, by the time the bell was furnished with a clapper, it might be found to need a little tuning. No doubt, in those days it mattered much more than it does in ours what kind of note the bell and its clapper gave out. To large classes of people the pulpit was then, not only what it is now, but, what the parish school, books, newspapers, lectures, penny readings, everything of the kind also are now. It was in short the only way which large masses of people had of learning anything at all. The church was the only place where they had the chance of listening to a man who, if he did not know very much, at least knew more than themselves. It was only in the nature of things that the pulpit, or, in the language of allegory, the bell, should in those days ring out a greater number of tunes than it does now, and that the tuning of it should be looked on by those in authority as a more important matter than it would be now. The tuning of the pulpits, in short, meant that the preachers throughout England were bidden to preach in favour of any measure which the Queen and her Council were devising. So to do was pretty well the only means which there was of getting anything understood or known by the bulk of the people; and, could the same be done now, there are doubtless still nooks and corners where the parson's Sunday sermon is the only thing in the least degree of the nature of intellectual food which a good many people ever have set before them. In fact, we can conceive that there are places which heard more and learned more in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than they do now. They still have nothing but the parson's sermon to enlighten them, and the parson's sermon is not so enlightening as it was two hundred or three hundred years back.

Now, of all things in the world, one of the last things that we should wish would be for the clergy to imitate the practice of the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in preaching what would be commonly understood by political sermons. We have many reasons for so wishing; one of them perhaps is, that if the clergy were to take to preaching political sermons, the mass of them would not preach such kind of politics as we should wish them. But we just now purposely used the qualification, what would be commonly understood by political sermons. That is, they should not so far follow the example of the days when pulpits were tuned as to preach for or against any particular Government, any particular candidate, any particular measure under discussion in Parliament. For, in the higher and wider sense of the word, we hold that they should preach political sermons—political, that is to say, in the sense in which, according to Aristotle, the highest form of the study of man's nature is the political science. Indeed, to come nearer to the range of what is ordinarily called politics, though nothing could be more improper than for a preacher to preach on behalf of a particular candidate or a particular measure, yet it seems to us that there could be no time richer than the approach of a contested election in materials for a really faithful pastor to give a word of exhortation to his people. The candidates must be very bad candidates indeed if it would be thought to be favouring one side more than another if a preacher set forth with all boldness the obvious moral duties of an elector. It is surely the pastor's duty at such a moment to tell his congregation that it is their duty, as reasonable and Christian men, to use the rights which the law gives them soberly and honestly according to the best of their discretion. It can be no breach of the strictest impartiality to point out that the elector, as an elector, has a moral and religious duty, to denounce bribery and intimidation in every shape as real moral offences. Such a discourse would be full of politics, but it would not be full of party politics. We should like to know what proportion discourses of this kind bore four years ago to those discourses which, instead of setting forth the moral duties of the elector, stirred him up by party declamation, by lavish use of the abused terms "sacrilege" and "confiscation."

The fact is that the great mass of preachers seem really to forget that those to whom they are speaking are Englishmen of the nineteenth century. It is strange how the Judaic leaven clings to us. It is an inheritance alike from mediæval and from Puritan times; but it is decidedly a case of salt which has lost its savour. Mediæval preachers and writers were brimful and running over with Old Testament quotations and allusions; but they never fancied that their hearers were Jews; they never forgot that they were Englishmen or Frenchmen of the time in which they happened to live. The references to the elder dispensation might be allegories, or they might be examples, but they were all meant to have a very practical bearing on the state of things which was really going on then and there. So the Puritans had a vast deal to say about Amalek and Moab, and going to meet the Philistines at Gilgal, but it all meant that they were to fight manfully against the Cavaliers, or perhaps, in the mouth of a Scotch Presbyterian, against the Ironsides themselves. We seem to live among the same sort of phraseology without the same sort of application. The preacher goes on talking about Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, David and Solomon and the rest, till he has reversed the vision of Ezekiel and has successfully turned the living men into dry bones. We believe that it would be quite unorthodox to bring out the real historical character of the Hebrew heroes, or to make any attempt to set forth to the congregation in what time and country and state of society they lived. So to do would be to make them men—men, as an apostle himself says, "with like passions as ourselves"—men who did not live in a sort of Nephelokokkygia created for the sole purpose of supplying texts and pointing morals, but who lived and walked about, and did sometimes good and sometimes evil in the common world of their own times, different as that world was from ours. The New Testament, to be sure, widens our field; we get Greeks and Romans as well as Jews; but all are to be dealt with in the same conventional kind of way, as if the people who happened to be mentioned in the Bible were a set of beings all by themselves, and in no way partakers of our common human nature. The unhappy Scriptural characters get preached about and made into proverbs, commonly on the strength of utter misconception of some particular passage which forms a convenient text. Unhappy Gallio, for instance, has passed into a byword as the "man who cared for none of those things," as the very type of the careless man who takes no heed to the things of his soul. But look at the story itself, and what were the things that Gallio did not care for? They had nothing to do with the things of his soul at all. The real fault of Gallio was a gross breach of his duty as a magistrate. "All the Greeks took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment seat, and Gallio cared for none of those things." That is to say, a shameful disturbance and assault happened in court before his own eyes, and he did not do his duty in putting it down. Perhaps, if, in the days of the Popish Plot, a band of zealous Protestants had beaten the chief ruler of some unlucky handful of Papists before the judgment seat of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, that earnest defender of the faith might have cared for none of those things, as Gallio did in the like case. Then the second of the two Pharaohs who appear in the Book of Exodus—we believe that the genuine English Bible-reader or Bible-hearer never finds out that there are two Pharaohs in the Book of Exodus—is held up as if he were a blasphemer of the school of William Rufus. Whatever may be said for the custom of Greek, Latin, and English translators in putting the word Lord or *kyrie*

equivalent for the Hebrew proper name of the Deity, it at least makes nonsense of the words of the Egyptian King:—"Who is the Lord that I should obey his voice? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go." The unhappy Pharaoh has been preached at over and over again, as if he had defied a power whom in the same breath he acknowledged as Lord. We hope we shall not be thought profane, but the exact parallel to what Moses and Pharaoh did say would have been if, in the time of the Indian Mutiny, a zealous Brahmin, wrathful at greased cartridges, had gone to the Governor-General of India and said, "Thus saith Brahma, the God of the Hindoos, 'Let my people go, that they may serve me.'" It would not have been unnatural if he had got for answer, "Who is Brahma that I should obey his voice? I know not Brahma, neither will I let the Hindoos go." The much maligned Pharaoh is no conscious blasphemer at all; he is at most only an unbeliever. He knew nothing of the God of Israel, whose name he had perhaps never before heard; he worshipped Osiris and Apis and the other gods of his fathers. The worst that can be said of him is that he was less courteous to the preacher of an unknown faith than our own Æthelbert and Edwin; but perhaps, if Augustine and Paulinus had come from Wales instead of from Rome, they would have got no better answer.

A Jew then, or a Roman or an Egyptian who so far shares in the nature of a Jew as to be spoken of in the Old or New Testament, must not be talked about in a sermon as if he were a real human creature. And it would seem as if anybody or anything beyond the two covers of the Old and New Testament might not be mentioned at all. We speak of the common run of sermons, not of such sermons as the Dean and Canons of St. Paul's are not afraid to preach to rational Englishmen as rational Englishmen. In the regular conventional sermon there is not a word directly addressed to Englishmen of the nineteenth century as such. If anything out of the prescribed range is spoken of at all, it must only be by the darkest allusions, never by its own name. We remember a University Preacher, at the time of the Irish famine, talking of "that esculent which has recently failed." And we remember the protest of one of his hearers, "If Moses and the Prophets were not ashamed to talk about leeks, onions, and cucumbers, why should A. B. be ashamed to talk about a potato?" Then we remember very well in the days of the Russian War, how even in the pulpit men could not always keep themselves from a word or two on the matter of which every one was thinking; but how carefully everything was veiled under dark illusions; how warily did the preacher avoid any direct mention of

The Russians and the Turks,
With their Babylonish works,

as if both alike were nations which, like the donkey in another sermon, decency forbade him to mention. To be sure we remember a preacher on the other side who delivered a series of discourses against Lord Palmerston, veiled only under the sweet name of Nebuchadnezzar. But we believe that the prophet's allegory was so successfully veiled under the sweetness of the five Chaldean syllables that the congregation never found out at whom the thunderbolts were hurled. The rule seems to be that everything which regards the congregation as an assemblage of Englishmen, as men living in a certain age and a certain country, a country which has a certain past history and a certain present condition, is to be looked on as a forbidden subject in those discourses which are intended to give religious and moral instruction to the men who live in that country and in that condition; that is to say, they are never to be spoken to directly about those things which it most concerns them to hear. To be sure the day for sermons is Sunday, and we believe that both Sunday books and Sunday music are bound to be all about Jews, and that an Englishman would be looked on as a profane person who had no right to show himself on so holy a day. We are taught in the Catechism to do our duty in that state of life to which it shall please God to call us, and that state of life is in our case a state of life of Englishmen in the nineteenth century. Now, setting aside the exceptional class of discourses to be got from special preachers in special places, the ordinary average sermon never thinks of dealing directly and in plain words with the particular state of life of those who hear it. We get, we dare say, very good dogmatic theology; we get very sound general morality; but it is a theology and a morality which, so far as it belongs to any particular time or place, seems not to belong to England now, but to Judea in ages past. It was a comfort when some time back we heard in a sermon a rebuke to one class of people who were "afraid of being called the parson's pet," and of certain other persons "who thought it charity to give to an organ-grinder in the street." It was a sign that we had got into an age and country of parsons and organ-grinders—in short, that we had wandered from Palestine to England.

Our forefathers, in what people pleased to call the dark ages, were in this matter better off. Whatever may have been their errors or superstitions, their religious and their national life were not disavowed. The men who worshipped at the shrine of St. Alphege or St. Thomas, of either Edward or of either Edmund, at least worshipped as Englishmen; their religious reverence gathered around the worthies of their own land. When a popular leader died in a righteous cause, men presently honoured him as a saint, and the curse of Rome could not hinder miracles being wrought by his relics. Out of a system like this, made up of so much that is good and so much that is evil, why cannot we pick out the part that is sound and healthy? Why cannot we learn that on a Sunday as well as on another day, in church as well as in another

place, a man is still an Englishman of the nineteenth century, and is not changed for the nonce into a Jew of the days of the prophets, or even into a Corinthian or a Philippian of the days of the apostles?

PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.

IT is impossible to imagine a more pathetic or touching story than that contained in the letters of the Princess Charlotte which have just been published in the *Quarterly Review*. The unhappy domestic circumstances amid which the Princess's early womanhood was passed were pretty well known already from Miss Knight's gossiping diary and from other sources. Her father bestowed on her a share of the dislike he cherished for her mother, and was jealous of her popularity and of her importance as heir to the throne. He wished to keep her a mere infant as long as he could, and would even have been glad to get rid of her altogether. He was cold, capricious, and tyrannical, and never hesitated, if he had a chance, to strike at the mother through the child to whom in her good-natured, foolish way she was sincerely attached. The old Queen hated the poor girl more heartily than the Regent did, and took a feminine delight in teasing and humiliating her. Miss Knight describes a dinner at Windsor on one of the Regent's birthdays, when he took no notice of the Princess or her attendants, but looked "as if he wished to annihilate us"; and when, on the Princess departing, it was expected he might say a kind word, he was found with some of the other guests underneath the table. That was the day when "the Duke of York hurt his head very seriously against a wine cellaret." "It was a bad business," says poor Miss Knight. The Princess had only 10*s.* a month for pocket-money, and generally lost more than this at cards at Windsor. The shabby, malicious way in which she was treated by her father and grandmother irritated and provoked her, and made her anything but docile. When she wrote to Lord Liverpool to demand an establishment of her own, the Regent complained bitterly to Lord Eldon, who declared before a roomful of Royal Highnesses, "If she had been my daughter, I would have locked her up." This brought the poor Princess's humiliation to a climax. "What would the King say," she exclaimed, "if he could know that his grand-daughter has been compared to the grand-daughter of a collier?" It is not a pretty picture that is presented in Miss Knight's pages, but we get the impression that the Princess, though badly used, sometimes rather enjoyed the squabbles and contentions as some relief to the dull monotony of her life. The correspondence of which an account is given in the *Quarterly* shows, however, that she felt acutely the cold and heartless treatment to which she was subjected. Her mother quitted her father's house soon after she was born, and it was not long before the baby was packed off too; but not to a distance. She was established, with a staff of governesses and maids, at Warwick House, a small building adjoining the garden of Carlton House. Her father seldom saw her, and it was only on rare occasions that she visited the old Queen at Windsor. But every Saturday afternoon she had a treat; she was taken to the house of her other grandmother, the Dowager-Duchess of Brunswick, where she spent an hour or two with her mother, who, whatever her faults, was always kind and affectionate. These Saturday afternoons were the great events of her dull, neglected life, and they were further brightened by the presence of one or two playmates, the children of parents living at Blackheath, who were permitted to visit her at her grandmother's. These and a few others remained her friends through life, and to one of them the letters of which extracts are now given were addressed. They begin in 1813, when she was just seventeen years old. "The handwriting is scrawling and illegible to a degree, and bears evidence of her neglected education. The grammar is often at fault, the style stilted and pompous, like that of the novels of the last century, with which she had probably a large acquaintance." Still they are full of natural and unaffected feeling. She hopes her friends will not forget her, and will "think sometimes of her fate." The old Queen did all she could to keep her friends from her, and lectured her on "princely dignity," at the same time cultivating that dignity by snubbing her as much as possible, and keeping her perfectly in the dark as to all the arrangements of her establishment.

One day the Princess writes from Warwick House to say that she is in town again. "In every sense of the word it is for good, as I am quite well again, and indeed feel quite comfortable, as I have been left quiet." There could hardly be a more touching or suggestive description of her state of life. She had come to consider it her highest happiness to be let alone, to be forgotten by her father and tabooed by her grandmother, and to be taken no notice of whatever. There is a great party at Carlton House "to all the foreigners," and she is as much puzzled as pleased because her father was civil to her. "The Prince was in very great good-humour with everything and everybody, myself not excepted." It turns out, however, that the Prince had his reasons for it. He had been planning a match between Charlotte and the Prince of Orange. Miss Knight tells us that when the Princess heard she was to meet the Prince at Lady Liverpool's she put on a bluster, which was her excuse for keeping away. She also declared that he was so ugly that she was sometimes obliged to turn her head away from him when he was speaking to her; and she told Sir Henry Hallford that she would marry the Duke of Gloucester, but not the Prince of Orange. Of all this there is no mention in this

correspondence. The Princess writes at first as if she had been rather taken by the Prince, but there can be no doubt that it was her eagerness for release from the kind of servitude in which she was then living, and her hope that marriage would procure her an independent establishment, which led her to try to persuade herself not to dislike the Prince of Orange. As the affair went on she saw more clearly that the great object of the Regent and of the old Queen was to get rid of her, at any rate for a time, and that it was intended she should live permanently abroad. "My own family, and the head of it too, is very desirous," she says, "I should leave this country, which I cannot say I am, as I feel naturally excessively attached to the country I was born and educated in." She was willing to marry for peace and independence, but not for exile, and a fixed repugnance to the Prince took possession of her. The writer of the article in the *Quarterly* states, on the authority of an eye-witness, that the marriage was really broken off in consequence of a petty and trivial incident, which was evidently only a pretext. The Princess asked her betrothed to ride with her in the riding-house. When he objected, she reproached him with his want of attention; he got bored with her vehemence, and left her to "recover her temper." She wrote to him the same evening to break off the match, a resolution to which he submitted more philosophically than her father. We may turn to Miss Knight for the scene which followed. When the Regent found that his daughter's determination could not be shaken he was very cold, very bitter, and very silent. One afternoon in July he and the Bishop of Salisbury came to Warwick House, and the Regent went to the Princess's room. He was shut up with her for three-quarters of an hour, and then the Bishop was sent for. At the end of the hour "she came out in the greatest agony," and told Miss Knight that she and all the household were to be instantly dismissed. Then she fell on her knees, exclaiming, "God Almighty! grant me patience." The Prince Regent apologized to Miss Knight for putting her to inconvenience, but he wanted her room at once. He refused to give any reasons for thus turning her out of the house; and she replied with spirit that her father had served His Majesty for fifty years, and sacrificed his health and fortune in that service, and it would be strange if she could not put herself to a little inconvenience on the same account. Meanwhile the Princess had slipped out of the House, and was off in a hackney cab to her mother's in Connaught Place, with a rush of great dignitaries after her. After some "kicking and bouncing," as Lord Eldon called it, she was recovered and shut up in Cranbourne Lodge at Windsor, with a set of strange attendants. It was a rigid imprisonment, scarcely disguised. She was not allowed to see any of her friends, and it was only as a great favour that she was occasionally allowed to write to one of them. Letters from and to her were frequently intercepted. She was tortured by the indignities to which she was subjected, by doubts as to what was being said of her in the world outside, and by the uncertainty of her position. She was like a criminal condemned to execution, and constantly expecting to hear the fatal summons. Some new proposal of marriage was evidently her dread. "What may or may not happen," she writes, "God only can tell; for those who are happy, looking forward is a happy reflection; for those unhappy, a sorrowful one of uncertainty." And then she speaks of her bitter mortification, "heightened by bad spirits and presentiments of God knows what," and of "pains and pangs that come sometimes, and make one think one's heart will quite break." She sends her friend some trifling gift as a remembrance; it is all she has to offer of her own, for she has "no means of any sort to procure what might be more worthy your acceptance."

Afterwards she is back at Warwick House, but sees nothing of her father, "though next door." Her situation is still wretchedly uncertain and uncomfortable. "I always think six months got over of this dreadful life I lead six months gained." There is a weekly visit to theatre or opera, and that is her great delight; "Miss O'Neil beats everything that ever yet has been seen, or ever will be again, I think." A trip to Weymouth affords little solace. Her "crocodile luck," she fears, pursues her, and her "life is quite that of uncertainty from day to day, hour to hour, and total ignorance as to what my fate is to be, where to go, and how things are to be arranged." But even in her greatest trials she was always thoughtful and considerate for others, and her letters are often more about her correspondent than about herself. It is evident from this correspondence that the Princess, though she had seen Prince Leopold and admired him, had never thought of him as even a possible suitor for herself. She was even under the impression that he was paying his addresses to another young lady, and anticipated nothing better for herself than a *mariage de convenance*. It was in 1816 that the Prince, to her delight and surprise, returned to England to propose for her hand. The Regent was gracious, and the Princess, it will be understood, threw no obstacles in the way. Her life had been one of such isolation, and she had suffered so much from coldness and want of sympathy, that her intercourse with Leopold was like the opening of a new world, a dark bleak day passing on the sudden into soft and genial sunshine. Her marriage was perfectly happy. Her husband appreciated her generous impulsive character, and knew how to check her little violence of language or demeanour. She called him "*Doucement*," from his phrase "*Doucement, ma chère, doucement!*" and good-humouredly obeyed. Her last letter is dated October 24. She "continues well," she says, and is cheerful and confident. A fortnight later she was dead. The intense sorrow

of the nation was due rather to the circumstances of her death than to appreciation of her character, of which, indeed, little was known except by rumour and conjecture. But it is pleasant to learn that she possessed qualities of mind and heart which fully justified the hopes which were entertained of her, and the outburst of feeling which was produced by her sad fate.

ARCHBISHOP MANNING ON ULTRAMONTANISM.

ON Tuesday evening last Archbishop Manning delivered an address before the Catholic Association of Sheffield on Ultramontanism, which he was anxious to vindicate from the charge of being opposed to progress and patriotism. His argument, so far as any argument can be extracted from his easy flow of rhetoric, is the reverse of convincing; but the discourse, if correctly reported, is so very rambling that we can but take the *disjecta membra* as they occur, and make such comments as suggest themselves. The speaker begins by laying down as a fundamental principle that "the Catholic Church was isolated, being, as it was, a society knit together by its own laws, and having no contract (contact?) with any other body." And this, he observed, had been the case from the earliest days, when the world was still heathen. "A Christian society was from the first formed, and in later times, when Christianity became more general, there was still (?) an identity between the Church and the Governments of the world. Was that the case now?" It appears, therefore, that at one time the Catholic Church had a very close contract or contact—whichever it may be—with the civil Governments, and that it is their fault, not hers, that the contact or "identity" does not still continue. "Three centuries ago the North of Germany and England broke up the unity of the world and cast off the legislation which had sprung up in the Church." For the world must, we presume, be read Europe. And if by unity is meant political unity, as seems to be implied, under the old suzerainty of the Pope, it had been broken up long before the Reformation, and the responsibility of the century of religious wars which followed rests quite as much on the Catholic as on the Protestant side. Dr. Manning adds that in the last century the Catholic countries of Europe adopted the same policy and completed the work begun by Luther, "until at last they had arrived at that greatest of all impositions, 'a free Church in a free State.'" "How could Catholics, who believed that the Church was one, identify themselves very closely with a State which admitted all creeds and all forms of worship on the same level?" This doctrine—which, it seems, startles even Sir George Bowyer—is, of course, in strict accordance with the doctrine of the infallible Syllabus, which condemns the practice of tolerating a diversity of worship in Catholic States, and the opinion that the Church has no right to enforce her teaching by temporal penalties. But it is not very reassuring as to the progressive and patriotic character of Ultramontanism. "There was a time when there was but one religion instead of thousands," and had the persecuting policy commended by the Syllabus been consistently carried out that time would have lasted on; for "Catholics, like the courtiers of Frederick II., might answer to Protestants, that there would have been only one religion still if their forefathers had been of their opinion." This reminds one of M. Veuillot's well-known statement in the *Univers*, though the Archbishop is naturally more cautious in his language than the journalist:—"For my part, I frankly avow my regret not only that John Huss was not burnt sooner, but that Luther was not burnt too. And I regret further," adds M. Veuillot, in apparent oblivion of Philip II. and Louis XIV., "that there has not been some prince sufficiently pious and politic to have made a crusade against the Protestants." Dr. Manning, indeed, himself puts an important limit on his patriotism when he accepts Lord Denbigh's oft-quoted boast that he is "a Catholic first, and an Englishman afterwards," and justifies it by the ingenious plea that all good Protestants would say they were Christians first, and Englishmen afterwards. This may be, but an Ultramontane—and in the Archbishop's mouth Catholic and Ultramontane are synonymous terms—means a good deal more than a Christian. It means a person whose first and supreme duty is to obey the behests of an infallible Pope; and for more than two centuries obedience to the Pope involved the refusal, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the civil supremacy and independence of the English Crown.

But the Archbishop rejoins that no distinction can be drawn between Ultramontanism and Christianity, for Ultramontanism is Christianity. "The Christian world was created by Christianity. Christianity was the Church; the Popes were the head of the Church. The Papacy was Ultramontanism, and Ultramontanism therefore had brought about the advancement made up to the sixteenth century." Ultramontanism, therefore, is not the enemy, but the origin and instrument of progress. On all which two or three obvious comments occur to one. In a certain sense it is true that in the middle ages, while the clergy was the only learned class, the Papacy was mainly instrumental in promoting the advance of civilization. But Ultramontanism, in the modern sense of the word, is only a hundred years older than Protestantism, and dates from the Papal reaction against the reforming Councils of the fifteenth century. We are not concerned to contradict the Archbishop's assertion that "it would not stop the making of one locomotive, and that the Lancashire spinning-jenny would go just as well when guided by a Catholic as by a Protestant." But how far the system has tended to promote even material progress, of which it

has no particular reason to be jealous, may be judged by a comparison of the condition of Catholic and Protestant countries during the last three centuries. What it has done to stop intellectual progress is still more conspicuously exemplified in the meagre and stunted literature of Italy and Spain, and may be learnt from a study of the decrees of the Inquisition and the Index during the same period. Has Dr. Manning ever chanced to meet with a pamphlet, generally attributed, we believe, to a priest of his own diocese, which has run through two editions, on *The Pontifical Decrees Against the Motion of the Earth Considered in their Bearing on the Theory of Advanced Ultramontanism*? The learned author, after proving conclusively that the opinion about the motion of the earth which is now held by all educated Catholics was formally condemned by the Holy See as heretical and false, and that its authors were compelled to retract it—a condemnation afterwards solemnly ratified by a later Pope (Alexander VII.), in the Bull *Speculatores Domus Israel*—thus sums up the results which “Galileo’s case incontrovertibly teaches.” “Rome—i.e. a Pontifical Congregation informed by the Pope—may put forth a decision scientifically false and doctrinally erroneous. . . . The Pope may call upon a Catholic to give unreserved assent to a judgment doctrinally erroneous. The Pope may command a Pontifical Congregation to promulgate as a part of the teaching of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church that which is scientifically false and doctrinally erroneous. . . . and use his authority as Pope to in-dictate the Church with a false opinion respecting Holy Scripture.” We have referred to this pamphlet for the purpose of showing, and that on Catholic authority, that if “the Papacy is Ultramontanism,” Ultramontanism has not been so favourable as Dr. Manning appears to suppose to scientific progress; and he must be aware that even such mechanical inventions as the locomotive and the spinning-jenny ultimately depend on the advance of abstract knowledge.

But we are reminded by the next passage in his address that our citation will also serve another purpose. “The speaker went on to refer to the opposition in England to the infallibility dogma, saying that all the decrees of the Vatican Council were loyally received by every priest and bishop in Christendom, except the little body of Old Catholics in Germany and France.” Archbishop Manning shows his discretion in omitting all reference to the laity, among whom the new dogma is known to be widely disbelieved, or received, if at all, with explanations like Mr. Maskell’s, which deprive it of all intelligible meaning. But is he quite sure he is right about the bishops and clergy? No doubt there are not many signs of open resistance among the priesthood, for obvious reasons, but, unless we are greatly misinformed, there is abundance of unacknowledged disbelief. The author of the pamphlet just referred to, the second edition of which appeared the year after the Vatican Council, must have greatly changed his views if he accepts the dogma. And as to the bishops, not to speak of others less known, we have yet to learn that Strosmayer has submitted. And what value is to be attached to the testimony of those who have submitted, after their own explicit avowals during the Council, may be learnt from Lord Acton’s unanswered *Letter to a German Bishop*, which was noticed at the time in our columns. Of the manner in which the German bishops explain, or explain away, the doctrines which they now profess to accept and are tyrannically enforcing on others, we had something to say the other day, and it is amusing to find our estimate of the gloss they put upon it emphatically endorsed by an Ultramontane correspondent of the *Tablet*. But, putting this aside, there is the widest possible difference between the Archbishop’s own thorough-going acceptance of the “personal, separate, independent, and absolute infallibility” of the Pope, in all that directly or indirectly touches on faith and morals—a doctrine publicly asserted by one of his suffragans to “take rank with the doctrine of the existence of God”—and the very hesitating and equivocal interpretations of some of his episcopal colleagues. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, who in his published *Concio* expressly denied the truth of the dogma and the competence of the Council to define it, in announcing to his clergy his formal submission, added that he was still unable to reconcile it with history and tradition, and is well known to have declared that he will never preach it. Bishop Brown of Newport, who appears from the *Catholic Directory* to be the senior bishop of the English hierarchy, in his Pastoral on the subject expressly declines to accept any Papal utterance as infallible when any one of a number of previous “precautions” has been omitted, which precautions are not only not laid down as conditions of his infallibility in the decree, but are distinctly implied to be entirely optional; and he then adds a still more important reservation of his own—namely, that, “supposing, for the sake of argument, a Pope should promulgate false doctrine, the Church, dispersed or in Council, will correct the error.” Infallibility, therefore, belongs not to the Pope, but to the Church, which was the old Gallican doctrine. Hefele, the most learned of the German bishops, after holding out for a twelvemonth, was reduced to submission by a threat of withdrawing his faculties. We referred just now to a remarkable pamphlet of Mr. Maskell’s, professing—in language which, to say the least, is startlingly ill chosen, if the profession is not meant to be ironical—his acceptance of a dogma resting on a foundation which “no truth rests or ever did rest upon” before, which is based “on nothing greater than the authority of a Papal promulgation of the decrees of an unfinished Council,” and a decree the like of which “no Œcumenical Council since the days of the Apostles” ever

issued yet. With Mr. Maskell’s own opinions, however, we are not here concerned. But he assures us—and he ought to know—that the sense in which “one of the most learned of the French bishops” accepts the new dogma is the following:—“That as no Pope hitherto, so far as we can possibly learn, has spoken *ex cathedra*, so it is not probable that any ever will hereafter.” When, then, it is said that the doctrine is “loyally received by every bishop in Christendom,” it is important to remember that—supposing the fact to be so—this loyal reception may include anything from the thoroughpaced infallibilism of Dr. Manning and the *Dublin Review* to Bishop Brown’s theory of a provisional infallibility which the Church will correct “if unhappily” it makes a mistake, or the still more recondite infallibility of the most learned French bishop, which escapes all danger of speaking wrongly by taking care never to speak at all. A definition so wonderfully elastic may fairly be considered the crowning triumph of Talleyrand’s theory of the use of language. And if Ultramontanism meant no more than this, neither progress nor patriotism could have anything to say against it. But it meant a good deal more than that in the case of Galileo, and it means a good deal more now, if the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the accredited organ of the Holy See, is right in maintaining that “every baptized person is more the subject of the Pope than of any earthly Government.” And the stringent measures on clerical discipline and education just introduced into the German Parliament, which can only be justified on the plea of necessity, and are expressly alleged by the Government to be rendered necessary by the Vatican decrees, prove clearly enough that the leading Power of the Continent does not agree with Dr. Manning that there is nothing unpatriotic in the position assumed by Ultramontanism.

THE CLAIMANT’S CHAMPIONS.

IT will be remembered that on one occasion the valiant Knight of La Mancha got himself into trouble by rescuing from the hands of justice a number of pitiful fellows whom he met in chains upon the road. Mr. Whalley and Mr. Guildford Onslow have lately been engaged in a Quixotic enterprise of a somewhat similar kind, and they, too, have not exactly covered themselves with glory. Not content with actively supporting the defence of the Tichborne Claimant, they have attacked the administration of justice, and have endeavoured to persuade the public that the processes of law were being corruptly and wickedly warped and strained against an innocent man. For this they have been very properly rebuked and punished by the Court of Queen’s Bench. They have had to apologize humbly for their offence, to promise—like naughty little boys under the birch—not to do it any more, and to pay 100*l.* a piece as a fine to the Crown. It is necessary to observe that Mr. Whalley and Mr. Onslow have been punished, not for assisting the Claimant, but for attacking other people, and for attempting to prejudice the course of justice. At this moment the Tichborne Claimant is, as it were, in the position of a man who has been condemned by one Court, and who is waiting the result of an appeal to another tribunal. He failed to convince the jury in the civil suit that he was not an impostor, and the judge had no alternative but to order him into custody. A grand jury have returned a true bill against him for perjury and forgery. He has still another chance of clearing himself of the charges against him, and we have no right to speculate as to the result of this final trial. It would be absurd, of course, to say that in such a case the public can absolutely suspend its judgment. There are people who think that the evidence at the first trial was sufficiently conclusive; and there are others who think it was not. But nobody knows what sort of a case will be made out for the Claimant when he appears before the Court of Queen’s Bench. Old evidence may be presented in a new light, or new evidence may be forthcoming. Indeed Mr. Onslow has promised that at least one very remarkable piece of fresh evidence will be produced. This is the “identical collar” in which the Claimant was saved from the wreck of the *Bella*. It was thought rather odd at the first trial that the Claimant should alone have survived the wreck of the *Bella*, but he will now have an opportunity of proving that his collar also survived. “A man at Merrybong,” in Australia, was driving along a road ten years ago. He saw a bit of rag lying in the road. Australians have perhaps the same superstitious reverence for rags that the Chinese have for scraps of paper. At any rate, the “man at Merrybong” thought it worth while to stop his gig, get down, and pick up the precious bit of cloth, which proved to be nothing less than the missing link of a great law case. It was a shirt-collar, signed with the name “R. C. Tichborne,” and the signature will be proved to be in Roger’s own writing. We were not aware that heirs to baronetcies were in the habit of signing their linen; but no doubt this would be “just like Roger.” It is often said that truth is stranger than fiction, and here is an example of it. It is possible that when this collar is held up in court the jury will feel convinced that Roger really escaped alive from the *Bella*, though everybody else was drowned, and though all trace of the ship which the Claimant says picked him up has vanished as completely as if it had been the *Flying Dutchman* on a ghostly cruise.

Mr. Whalley in one of his speeches deplored the “extraordinary infatuation of silence” which has been exhibited by the press in regard to the forthcoming trial of the Claimant;

but it is a pity that Mr. Whalley's infatuation did not take the same harmless turn. The reticence of the press was simply respect for the administration of justice. It was felt that the Claimant had better be tried in a court of law than at a public meeting, and that an appeal to universal suffrage on charges of felony might be an awkward experiment. Mr. Whalley says that he took the sense of his constituents on the subject, and found them strong for the Claimant; but it does not appear that there was a similar plebiscite at Guildford. The Lord Chief Justice in giving judgment observed that the Court was "far from saying that, when persons believe that a man who is under a prosecution on a criminal charge is innocent they may not legitimately unite for the purpose of providing him with the means of making an effectual defence." "Any expressions," he added, "intended only as an appeal to others to unite in that object, though perhaps not strictly regular, could not be fit matter for complaint and punishment." Unfortunately Mr. Whalley did not stop here. He went about publicly declaring that there was an abominable conspiracy against the Claimant; that the Tichbornes and the Radcliffes and the Doughtys knew perfectly well that the Claimant was the real Roger; that the Attorney-General and the Government knew it too; and that they were all in a league to prosecute a man whom they knew to be innocent of the charge brought against him, and to deprive him of his inheritance. Half-a-dozen people met in a drawing-room and said, "We will keep this man's estates. We are strong enough in Parliament, strong enough on the judicial Bench, strong enough in society, to defy the laws of England." This is Mr. Whalley's story, and it was on the strength of this alleged conspiracy, "so widespread, so black, so utterly incomprehensible, extending its root through so many institutions of our country," that he appealed to the public to subscribe for the Claimant's defence. He said he was "prepared to meet the Attorney-General, or any six counsel most eminent at the Bar, or any other advocates that might be put forward, and to satisfy any intelligent London audience of the truth of his assertion." Mr. Whalley had his wish granted, but he made strangely little use of the opportunity he had so eagerly desired. Possibly he may not consider the Judges of the Court of Queen's Bench an "intelligent London audience." At any rate he did not attempt to offer any proof of the monstrous accusations which he had been circulating through the country. Mr. Whalley appears to think that it is consistent with the position of a gentleman and the dignity of a member of Parliament to travel about charging the Government and a number of private persons with being engaged in a conspiracy of the most atrocious and wicked kind, and when brought to task for this language, to have nothing to say for himself, except that he did not mean any harm. The Lord Chief Justice naturally observed that such an apology could be accepted only as derogatory to the understanding of the person who made it. When Mr. Whalley's counsel urged that this was a novel case, Mr. Justice Blackburn said the only novelty in it that he could see was that the gentleman's name was Whalley. This is certainly not the first time that a foolish person has got into trouble by unwarrantable observations on a pending trial; but there are degrees of folly, and perhaps Mr. Justice Blackburn scarcely did justice to the novelty of Mr. Whalley's character from this point of view. There is only one Whalley, and by the side of him Mr. Onslow acquires almost an air of reason and sobriety. Mr. Onslow talked less wildly, and was more prompt and unreserved in his apology; but he was justly held responsible for his colleague's violence.

It will occur to most people that, in starting this theory of a gigantic conspiracy spreading through society, the Government, Parliament, and even through the Bench itself, the Claimant's champions are adding rather unnecessarily to the burden of his defence. He has almost enough on his hands already. Let him be satisfied with showing that the thin, slight, shy, gentle Roger, who spoke French better than he spoke English, and who was on the most affectionate terms with all his family, has really turned up in the big, burly, and by no means shy Castro, who cannot speak a syllable of French, who cannot even pronounce correctly the French name of the mother he claims, and who from the moment of his landing in England he shunned his relations as if they were the plague. There are little difficulties to be cleared up about the tattoo marks, the shipwreck of the *Bella*, and the mysterious vessel that picked up the Claimant; about Roger's schooldays, and Castro's keen interest in the Ortons. In short, there is quite enough work cut out as it is for the Claimant's counsel without making it a part of their case that there is a "black and incomprehensible conspiracy" against their client. The possible mischief of the wild and reckless language which has been used by Mr. Whalley and Mr. Onslow goes beyond this particular case. They have endeavoured to produce in the minds of ignorant and foolish people an impression that poor men do not get justice, that there are influences which override law, and that officers of the Crown are capable of conspiring with rich and powerful families in order to rob and ruin an innocent and helpless man. The whole tendency of the scandalous agitation in which they have taken the lead has been to discredit the administration of justice, and to shake public credit in its integrity and independence. A question has been raised as to whether the House of Commons might not, under certain circumstances, have been disposed to throw the shield of Privilege over the offending members. That their conduct will

be brought under the consideration of the House can hardly be doubted; but it will be for another purpose. The Court of Queen's Bench was content to deal with the contempt of Court which was involved in an attempt to prejudice the course of justice in a pending trial. It remains for the House of Commons to find some means of vindicating its own dignity and the personal honour of its members. The Attorney-General is not only an officer of the Crown, but a member of Parliament, and he has been publicly accused of having committed one of the most abominable and wicked crimes which it is possible for a man in his position to commit. Other members of Parliament have been similarly attacked. These charges have been made, not by obscure and insignificant persons, but by two members of the House which has thus been outraged and insulted. It is no excuse to say that Mr. Whalley is only a foolish person who is always doing foolish things, and that Mr. Onslow, who was less intemperate in his language, allowed his feelings to overcome his prudence. There are limits to the privileges of folly, and those who engage in public agitation must be held to be responsible for the excesses of their associates when they do not interfere to check or rebuke them. It is impossible to exaggerate the greatness of the public scandal, as the Lord Chief Justice very properly called it, with which Mr. Whalley and Mr. Onslow have chosen to identify themselves; and it will be for the House of Commons when it meets to mark its sense of their unwarrantable and mischievous conduct. As for the Claimant himself, a man who has charges of perjury and forgery hanging over his head may perhaps be indifferent to the consequences of contempt of Court. Nothing could be more disgraceful than his language at Brighton in reference to the judges, and perhaps for his own sake the best thing that could happen to him would be to be locked up till his trial comes on.

GREENWICH.

THE establishment of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich is an event almost as significant as was the original foundation of Greenwich Hospital. The commencement of what may be called the modern history of the British navy dates from the foundation of the Hospital, while the necessity of scientific as distinguished from merely practical training for naval officers is fully recognized by the establishment of the College. The younger of the two Dutch admirals who bore the famous name of Van Tromp was taken to sea at eleven years of age, and many of our own most celebrated admirals began to learn seamanship quite as early. They knew their business thoroughly, but they knew little else; whereas it is now considered necessary that a naval officer should possess a good general education. The chief opponents of Van Tromp and De Ruyter were, indeed, soldiers who happened to be employed at sea; but immediately after the age of Blake and Monk comes that of Cloudesley Shovel and Benbow. The growing interest of the country in naval affairs after the Restoration may be inferred from contemporary literature. It was Charles II., "at length resolved to assert the watery ball," who gave his name to the first in order of time of the buildings which composed Greenwich Hospital. The labours of this King's servants to establish an efficient navy were ascribed in courtly poetry to the King himself. Dryden has clothed many absurd sentiments with vigorous language, and we almost forget, as he celebrates the naval conflicts of his time, that the King who inspired a navy with loyalty and patriotism was Charles II. :-

It seems as every ship their sovereign knows,
His awful summons they so soon obey;
So hear the scaly herd when Proteus blows,
And so to pasture follow through the sea.

The process of repairing a fleet after a sea-fight may not seem suitable for poetry, yet Dryden could write upon this subject lines which will still repay perusal. Just as the King of France was supposed to take Dutch towns, so the King of England was conventionally the instructor of his people in seamanship, naval architecture, and cannon founding. The battles of that period were chiefly fought in the sea which lies between Harwich and the Scheldt, and the English fleets which contested with the Dutch were fitted and repaired in the Thames. Hence the naval interest of this reign centres in Greenwich, and King Charles II. may, at least for poetical purposes, be supposed to have made experiments in gunnery at an adjoining arsenal. The naval history of his reign was not, however, uniformly glorious. A Dutch fleet entered the Medway and threatened Chatham. Monk was ordered to provide what protection he could for the ships and stores lodged there. He found no cannon mounted, no batteries or ammunition prepared, and Upnor Castle converted into a pleasant official residence. He collected a few companies of soldiers to oppose the audacious invasion of the Dutch, but the seamen who were about the arsenal became mutinous, and unwilling to obey in anything. Then the old man stood with his cane in his hand to enforce obedience, while the shot from the Dutch ships fell thick around him. One of his officers entreating him not to expose himself unnecessarily, he answered, "If I had been afraid of balls, I should have quitted the trade of a soldier long ago." This discreditable event occurred in the next year to that of which the naval glory has been celebrated by Dryden. The Dutch Admiral De Ruyter had been defeated and compelled

to retire before Monk in 1666, and he had received praise from the English poet, which next year he showed that he deserved:—

Oh! famous leader of the Belgian fleet,
Thy monument inscribed like praise shall wear
As Varro, timely flying, once did meet,
Because he did not of his Rome despair.

It will be seen, on looking through Dryden's verses, that shipwrights and sailors used nearly the same terms in his day as they use now. The Thames has greatly altered its character during the last thirty years, but before that time Deptford and Sheerness appeared to be much the same as they must have been when Monk's ships were repaired in their yards after his battles with De Ruyter. The following lines present to the mind a picture which must be familiar to the eyes of those who have dwelt upon the banks of Thames:—

Some the galled ropes with dauby marine bind,
Or sere-cloth masts with strong tarpaulin coats;
To try new shrouds one mounts into the wind,
And one below their ease or stiffness notes.

If we had a Dryden, he would not perhaps find insurmountable the task of poetically describing the coaling of a modern man-of-war. It would be indeed a bold effort of imagination to represent the Queen, or even the Prince of Wales, as looking on during the process. But, although Dryden's figurative expressions are out of fashion, the interest of Royalty in the prosperity of the navy is as great now as it has ever been, and the foundation of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich may be accepted as the latest proof of it. This College will be so organized as to provide for the education of naval officers of all ranks above that of midshipmen in all branches of theoretical and scientific study bearing upon their profession. The instruction given in the *Excellent* gunnery ship will continue as heretofore. This instruction was commenced in 1830, and was mainly due to the representations of the late Sir Howard Douglas, who had observed and strove to remedy that inferiority of English gunnery to which some of our failures in the contest with America were due. After a careful review of our naval actions with European enemies during the whole of the war from 1793 to 1815, and comparing them with the battles which were fought in the war which immediately preceded, Sir Howard Douglas found abundant proof that the navies of Europe had, in the later period, very much deteriorated in the practice of gunnery. In the later years of Napoleon's reign, though considerable improvements had been effected in the marine of France, the state of practical gunnery was very bad. The danger of resting satisfied with superiority over a system so defective as that of our principal opponents was soon made evident. We became too confident by being feebly opposed; then, slack in warlike exercises by not being opposed at all; and, lastly, in many cases inexpert for want even of drill practice. Herein consisted the disadvantage under which, without suspecting it, we entered in 1812 too confidently into war with a navy much more expert than that of any of our European enemies. It is a curious drawback from the received theory of human progress to be told that naval gunnery was better under Hood and Rodney than under Collingwood and Exmouth. After this we might almost be prepared to believe that the process of ship-calking when King Charles II. watched it and Dryden sang of it was done in a superior manner to anything that has been since seen at Deptford:—

Their left hand does the calking-iron guide,
The rattling mallet with the right they lift.

These lines are still applicable to many shipyards along the river, although in the Royal Navy iron has largely displaced wood. Our gunnery declined during the last years of the French war because the enemy seldom came out of port. There was partial inactivity during those years, and we have had much of the total inactivity of peace since. The danger that gunnery may deteriorate through want of actual practice in war ought, therefore, to be kept in view. Other branches of the seaman's art cannot easily fall into desuetude, because his most formidable enemies, rocks, shoals, currents, and storms, are ever ready to summon him to contest. In this respect the sailor enjoys an advantage over the soldier. A ship may be in danger at any moment, but it is difficult for an officer of the Guards to imagine himself liable to surprise as he leads his men in the early morning from barracks to the Park. The navy probably tends, as well as the army, to become more and more a scientific service. But there are many talents required in a good officer of which competitive examination affords no test. Here, again, there is a difference between the two services which is in favour of the navy. A bookworm might perhaps do duty irreproachably as an ensign, but if he went as midshipman in charge of a boat the crew would probably find him out. We do not assume the truth of the suggestion that recent accidents to ironclads are due to a decline of seamanship among naval officers, but it is at least certain that that quality could neither be acquired at a college nor tested by any system of marks. Let us not, however, appear on this account to undervalue the training which the Royal Naval College will supply. The vacant and often tedious hours of a sailor's life cannot be better occupied than in some branch of scientific study. The Board of Admiralty desire, by the establishment of the College, to give to the officers of the navy every possible advantage in respect of scientific education, but no arrangements will be made that may prejudice the all-important practical training in the active duties of their profession. This is as it should be. Prudent people begin to doubt whether Indian administrators can be successfully selected by

examination, but it is beyond question that captains of men-of-war cannot. Among the subjects of study at the College will be naval architecture, metallurgy, civil and hydraulic engineering, maritime law, naval history, tactics, and hygiene. It is hardly possible that a naval officer can know too much of any of these things. Nautical astronomy, steam, and surveying may be described as necessities, while modern languages and fortification are perhaps luxuries. Yet, in the infinite variety of positions in which a captain of a man-of-war may be placed, there is hardly any branch of knowledge which he may not find useful. A party of seamen may be landed, and it may be desirable that they should entrench themselves, for which a slight acquaintance with military engineering would be valuable. The adventures of Captain Marryat when he served on the Spanish coast under Lord Cochrane have been described many years ago in fiction, and quite recently in biography. That sort of service exercises every talent and accomplishment that a sailor may possess. Lord Cochrane was a remarkable example alike of natural ability and acquired knowledge. The latter is much more plentiful in our navy than it used to be. Let us hope that the former will not be wanting in time of need.

HOW THE FRENCH MAKE FOWLS PAY.

IT appears from official figures that between five and six hundred millions of eggs, to say nothing of thousands of tons of poultry, are annually imported into this country from France; and this has naturally suggested an inquiry as to what our own fowls are about. Where are our hens? asks the *Times*. It is clear that there is a ready and profitable market for eggs, and that an enormous supply comes from abroad, part at least of which might as well be produced at home. Whether regarded as an article of food or of commerce eggs are certainly not to be despised. At a time when the high price of butcher's meat drives ordinary folks to cast about for partial substitutes, it should not be forgotten that this country has hitherto neglected the means of supplying itself with poultry and eggs. We may reasonably shake our heads when it is proposed that perch and tench and other pond fish should once or twice a week fill the place of beef or mutton at tables that can ill afford to pay a shilling or fourteenpence for a pound of meat; but an important addition would be made to our resources if we could obtain a plentiful stock of eggs and poultry. *How the French make Fowls Pay* (Bosworth) is the title of a pamphlet by Mr. Kinard B. Edwards, which is now before us, and which contains much useful and interesting information on the subject.

It is apt to damage a good cause to pretend to excessive minuteness and exactness in figures which the experience of others may prove to have been assessed too low; and therefore we do not ask our readers to take too strictly the estimate of a chicken's cost after the first four months at a penny a week, especially as some authorities set it at fourpence, and the probability is that truth lies between the two. But, with a fairly wide margin, it will be seen that Mr. Edwards's plan will abundantly repay the pains and care which in this industry are after all the most appreciable part of the outlay. The success of the French results from the care which they bestow on early hatching, early killing, liberal feeding, and a supply of stimulating food both for fatteners and layers, with a view to the production of eggs and flesh at the quickest rate and the cheapest cost. They select the best breeds for laying or quick growth; they keep their stock always young; they go on the principle that regular production of eggs and flesh depends upon the sufficiency and the character of the keep; and they manage to avoid disease by quickly realizing and by a constant succession of stock. With us the usual management of the poultry-yard is "barn-dooring," all higgledy-piggledy, with no regard to times or seasons, to foods or to breeds. And thus it happens that pullets, because not hatched at the time which is essential to their becoming early profitable, average ten months of unprofitable feeding before making any return in eggs, and then only half repay us, because ill and irregularly fed, and because they do not take to laying till the season when eggs are cheapest. The rule should be to hatch pullet chickens in March or early April, as then, with due encouragement and stimulus in food, they will begin to lay at six months, or in the case of Hamburgs at five months, and go on doing so through the winter, when eggs are dearest and scarcest. The earlier chickens are hatched the better they thrive, getting over their moult in the warm weather, and having the summer to hasten them to maturity. So, too, unless cockerel chickens are hatched in early spring, they involve a loss of time and a cost of keep which does away with profit. Unless ready to kill about harvest, they do not improve in winter. They eat more as they get older, and at nine or ten months old their keep has exceeded their price in the market. But the systematic poultry-breeder will have his cockerels early hatched, and ready to kill at four months, up to which time they will have cost little to keep and will be plump and well shaped, the very opposite of the lean, lank, poor-breasted older fowls which are the result of a ruinous procrastination and want of forethought. It seems to be a golden rule in fowl-keeping never to keep old fowls. They take as much food as the young, and even more. They cannot lay in the moulting season, which goes on later, and is more severe every year; and they will give few, if any eggs, through the winter. Their flesh, too, is of little value—certainly of less value than that of younger birds.

In regard to the profits derivable from timely pullets and cockerels Mr. Edwards's statistics are very fascinating. Though he cites, in common with Stephens and other most respectable authorities, Mr. De Sora's egg-producing establishment near Paris, which was said to produce an average of 300 eggs per annum from each fowl—but which unfortunately was proved by Mr. Tegetmeier to exist, if anywhere, in *nubibus*—we are glad to see that he proceeds upon the more moderate computation that a pullet from beginning to lay should give 186 eggs in the next twelve months, or, at an average of 1s. 2d. a dozen, a total of 18s. 1d. At this point, and before moulting, he would coup and fatten her with barley or other meal and potatoes, moistened with milk, for a fortnight, and dispose of the carcass, which he calculates to weigh 4½ lbs., at 6d. a pound. Thus it makes room for younger pullets, saves the cost of two or three months' moulting-time and of the winter season, and, according to a profit and loss account brought out in p. 7, will leave its owner the better by 16s. 6d. Suppose, however, that two-thirds of this sum were netted, the result would have amply repaid the care and pains expended. In p. 8 again the profits of each cockerel are shown to be about 2s. 6d., or 100 per cent. on the trifling cost of the egg and the chick up to four months; and it should be observed that this early realization admits of one, if not two, successions during the summer.

But a vast deal depends upon good breeding and liberal feeding, as also on comfortable housing. To take the feeding first, Mr. Edwards maintains, from personal experience, that he has kept a hundred fowls on a weighed and measured allowance of a pennyworth of food a head per week, and that these fowls were in laying condition and perfect plumage. Averaging wheat, barley, oats, maize, and buckwheat one with another, and laying in a supply of broken rice, potato siftings, bullock's liver, and sheep's pluck, he can accomplish this at the price named; and it seems a good hint to any one who has a spare acre of poor soil, to grow buckwheat, which will yield forty bushels to the acre. As it contains a good deal of spirit, and is therefore stimulating, it is a famous poultry food abroad. To promote winter laying, a fixed morning, mid-day, and evening meal, the first and third of grain, the second of cooked vegetable and animal food, should be given with the utmost regularity; and although such regularity would seem to be just the difficulty about the whole matter, it is surely worth an effort. In spring and summer, of course, the fowls do much towards feeding themselves, especially if they have an extended run; and if to the diminution of the cost of keep were added the scavenger's work they thus perform, perhaps the balance would be even more satisfactory. A great deal, however, depends on keeping the pullets warm in winter; indeed warmth and cleanliness are the requirements that make assurance of profit from liberal feeding doubly sure, instead of being lost labour. The success of the Irish poultry, from puny breeds and deteriorated stock, bred "in and in," is as much owing to the warm housing as to the milk and the "praties." Laying hens want warmth inwardly and outwardly in winter to make up artificially for the carbon which then goes to supply the frame with heat, instead of to produce, as in summer, fat and eggs. This warmth, at least the external warmth, may be given by a circular stove costing 12s. 6d., as easy to carry as a stable bucket; and, fed with coal-dust at a very low cost per day, it will heat the fowl-house and the pigeon-loft, and ensure the uninterrupted production of eggs. In a very useful appendix, sold separately or with Mr. Edwards's pamphlet, will be found designs for fowl-houses, suitable to the means of the "million" or of the middle class. The cheapest, but far from the least useful, is a "ready-made fowl-house," made out of a large dry-goods hogshead, four feet in diameter, which we are told can be got at a grocer's for 1s. 3d. The top is knocked in, a couple of perches are fixed inside, and a lattice-door of laths completes a fowl-house to hold six or eight hens and a cock, with nests underneath it, and with the advantage of being snug in winter, and moveable by rolling.

We have yet to consider how best to fill the fowl-house. For table-purposes, the Brahmas alone, or the Brahmas crossed with the Dorking, surpass all other breeds. The fault of the Dorking is its variableness in laying, its requiring a dry soil to thrive upon, its dislike of confinement, its tendency to degenerate from interbreeding, and the difficulty of rearing its delicate brood. But the cross with the Brahma gives size, flavour, and constitution, and produces the best of egg-layers. The Brahma, too, has that which the Cochin fowl lacks—an ample breast; it forages cleverly for itself, and though fond of liberty and roaming, will bear confinement well, and is a good sitter and a good mother. The Brahma may be said to be the most popular fowl of the period, taken all in all. For delicacy of flavour and precocity in fattening—a point of the utmost consequence in the matter of profit and loss—no fowls can beat the Houdans and Crève-cœurs, the former of these combining size and excellence of flesh with egg-producing powers of a high order. But these gain size and strength of constitution for our climate if crossed with a Brahma cock. For quantity and quality, though not size, of eggs none can beat the Hamburgs. Though not inclined to sit, the Silver Hamburg has the name of being an "everlasting layer"; and it is suggested by Mr. Edwards that for increased size it may be advantageously crossed with the Houdan Cock. Brahmas and Cochins are good layers, specially in winter. Polish and Spanish are good summer layers. On the whole, for aptness to live by foraging, for hardihood, the production of eggs, and suitability for the table, Brahmas, Houdans, and Hamburgs are most to be

commended. And it is wise, we think, to limit oneself to three breeds at most, so as not to risk deterioration, or intermixture, through too many sorts.

For procuring eggs for hatching to start with, it is best to apply where known good stock is kept, and Mr. Edwards suggests that there should be a guarantee that at least one half of the eggs shall prove fertile. It is advisable to hatch more cockerels than pullets, because of the greater profit in fattening, through their hardness and extra size; and the way to know the eggs which will produce this sex has been familiar as far back as Columella's day—to choose pointed-end eggs, not those which are roundish; noticing also the position of the air cavities, which in the case of a cockerel will be at the apex of the blunt and larger end, and not towards the side. In hatching eggs for egg-producing, we must select eggs from proved good layers; egg-laying being a speciality of particular birds as of particular breeds. For successful hatching of fowl and duck eggs Mr. Edwards recommends a few full-feathered Cochin hens, which at this work are in their chosen element. As to ducks, this is by far the best plan. Mr. Edwards has something to say about patent mothers and incubators; but this is, we find, more fully discussed in a separate appendix. On this point we should be disposed to listen rather to the practical views of Mr. Tegetmeier, who in his first edition of the *Poultry Book* described some of these contrivances; but in his second, which is in course of publication, omits all notice of them. "That chickens," he writes, "may be hatched by an incubator, we do not deny; we have seen scores so produced, but practically these contrivances are all failures. No artificial incubator can for a moment compare in its results with the natural one. A hen costing under five shillings a year to keep will bring out two clutches of chickens annually, rear them much better than any artificial mother, and give a return of seventy or more eggs as interest for the money expended. We know of no other incubator to equal her, either in the economy of working or the results." This being the case, we do not see why, leaving incubators out of the question, there is any need to train capons to the task of brooding and rearing. It will be seen that Mr. Edwards's pamphlet deserves attention. He shows what may be done with a hitherto neglected source of income and profit, and how this country may be made more independent of its Continental neighbours in regard to a valuable element of our food supply.

REVIEWS.

HISTORICAL ATLASES.*

OUR first impulse on seeing these instalments of two separate works lying side by side before us is to ask, Why are they not one work instead of two? We have for years made use of Spruner's three atlases, and we have ever and anon been seized with a desire to pull them in pieces and bind them up again after an order of our own. That is to say, we have always longed to throw the three into one, to put all the maps of Italy, Gaul, or any other country, one after another in unbroken chronological order, without troubling ourselves about *Atlas Antiquus*, *Mittelalter*, *Aeuser-Europa*, or any divisions of the kind. Here is, thanks to the labours of Dr. Menke, an admirably enlarged and improved edition of that part of Spruner's work which takes in the mediæval and modern history of Europe—we should perhaps rather say of the Mediterranean world, as those parts of Asia and Africa which could not well be kept apart from Europe in an historical survey have always been taken in. But why is not the other part enlarged and improved also? The "ancient" part needed such enlargement and improvement at least as much as the mediæval part did. There is a great lack in the *Atlas Antiquus* of historical maps of Greece and Italy. To be sure for Greece the lack is in some sort supplied by Kiepert's *Atlas von Hellas*; but then that is a separate book, and we should like to have it all in one book; and even in using Kiepert's maps we are sometimes greedy enough to wish for a map or two more than we have got. Now we get at the same time two atlases which, if they were only one instead of two, look very much as if they would supply all our wants; but unluckily they are two and not one, so we suppose that we must knock under for the present, and make the best use we can of what we have got.

Dr. Menke promises us ninety principal maps instead of Kiepert's eighty-one, and he also promises us 340 instead of 119 of those little maps at the side, showing the particular divisions at some particular moment without crowding up the map with many names, as well as plans of towns and of battle-fields, which are among the most useful features of Spruner's work. As yet we have only thirty-four maps out of ninety, and those are not put in their consecutive order, though the maps in the different parts as yet published have a certain relation to one another. One of the great gaps in Spruner's series is already filled up. In the old atlas the age of Justinian was most strangely neglected. There was no map to show the time when, after so many fallings away,

* 1. Dr. K. von Spruner's *Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*. Dritte Auflage. Neu bearbeitet von Dr. Theodor Menke. Erste, zweite, dritte, vierte, fünfte, und sechste Lieferung. Gotha: Justus Perthes. 1871-1872.

2. *An Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography, Biblical and Classical*. Compiled under the Superintendence of Dr. William Smith and Mr. Grove. London: Murray. 1872.

the rule of Cæsar once more stretched from the Ocean to the Tigris. No time is more needful to be fully understood by those who are anxious to get any true general view of the history of the world; and hitherto the source which is really one of the best means for getting such a general view has failed us in this important point. The labours of Dr. Menke have now quite supplied this gap. We have a map of Europe at the end of the reign of Justinian, accompanied by a curious map of the religions of Europe as they stood at that moment, and we have other maps showing more in detail the immediate Eastern dominions of Justinian as they stood at that time. Maps of this kind are living things; they bring the real state of things before the eye in a way which mere words cannot do. A picture which shows us that in the year 560, Old and New Rome, Carthage and Antioch, Cadiz and Trebizond, still obeyed a single ruler, that the part of the Mediterranean coast which was not directly under the Imperial sway was a mere exception here and there, is the best of all antidotes to the conventional chatter about the Roman Empire coming to an end in 476. The only thing that we can suggest would be the leaving out of the word *Ost* in the phrase *Ost-Römisches Reich*, a name which Justinian would certainly not have acknowledged; and yet perhaps something may be said for the qualification, as tending to bring out the fact that it was now the New Rome and not the Old which was the centre of the Imperial power. Dr. Menke is also doing good service at the other end of his subject by bringing his painted history of Europe—for that is what an atlas of this kind really comes to—down to the very latest times. It was no fault of Spruner's if his atlas did not show the changes which have happened since it was made, but the changes which were then the latest were a little slurred over. There was, for instance, no map of Europe showing the boundaries as fixed by the Congress of Vienna. All this, and all that has happened since, is fully supplied by Dr. Menke. There is, for instance, a wonderful series of maps of Italy showing all the different changes from 1798 to 1866. The new maps show far more clearly than was shown before the successions of the queer little principalities and commonwealths which sprang up and sank again in the days of French invasion, and also the gradual steps by which the revived kingdom of Italy has grown to its present extent. We look at the map marked "*Italian 1861-1866*;" we remember the talk about freeing Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic; we see how far from the Adriatic the new frontier was fixed, and we see how well the little that was done was paid for on the other side of the Alps. The map makes all this alive in a way which nothing else can. But it is not only in the beginning and ending of his work that Dr. Menke has given us fresh lights; the Scandinavian and Slavonic countries, which were rather cut short in the old atlas, have now great attention paid to them. There is a series of maps illustrating the history of Poland which are almost as edifying as those which illustrate the history of Italy. There are the changes before the partitions began; there are the three partitions themselves; the Duchy of Warsaw as set up by the first Buonaparte; even the momentary extension of its frontier at the expense of Austria which was made by the valour of the Poles themselves. All these things are here clearly brought out; and these are just the sort of things which it is very hard to make people understand. Dr. Menke's maps might do a great service in these matters when ingenious literary gentlemen sit down at a moment's notice to throw off leading articles about Poland or anything else, without stopping to think that the words they use have had a dozen different meanings at different times. There are also a number of new maps of Spain; but these, though clearing up the relations of the various Saracenic and Christian States in the early middle age, hardly come home to us in the same way as either the Polish or the Italian series. There is, however, very great interest in the first of the series, which shows the Teutonic settlements in Spain and the fluctuations in the boundaries of the West-Gothic kingdom. Owing perhaps to Roderick the last of the Goths, we are apt to think of the West-Gothic kingdom as essentially Spanish, to forget that it was Gaulish before it was Spanish, and that the Kings of Toledo kept the Narbonese Gaul down to the time of the Saracenic conquest.

We turn to the first part of Dr. Smith's *Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography*, and our wish to have the whole thing in one is only strengthened by so doing. The two series seem as if they were trying to meet, and as if some unkind power stepped in to hinder them from meeting. Here are eight maps of Palestine at different stages, from the days of the Hivites and Amorites to the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. They positively ask to be joined on to Dr. Menke's map of Syria at the time of the Crusades, and its *Nebenkarte* which shows all the arrangements of the Frank kingdom of Jerusalem. We read of Kings of Jerusalem in the Book of Joshua, and we read of Kings of Jerusalem again in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*; and the two ends of the cycle—if that be not a mathematical bull—seem to ask to be brought together. Here is a map of the Greek and Phœnician colonies—that is, a map of the Mediterranean lands in the earliest stage in which they are known to history. Our first thought is, Why is this not allowed to range with the other map of the Mediterranean lands which shows a stage when the Phœnician had passed away, but when we may say that Greece was still ruling under the name of Rome? The little patch of Hellenic civilization far away in the Tauric Chersonesos is shown in both, as indeed it might still be shown some ages later, and it seems as if it tied the two together. We have maps of Upper and Lower Italy, with a *Nebenkarte* of

Southern Italy in the time of the Peloponnesian War, which craves for its natural fellowship with the kindred *Nebenkarte* of Italy during later wars. We have Gaul at the time of Cæsar; we have a larger map of Gaul, which very clearly shows the limit of the possessions which Rome held for a season beyond the Rhine and the Danube, while it marks more clearly than any map which we saw before how much of the lands on the left bank of the Rhine, which the Romans called Gaul, was even then already Germany. Such a map as this directly points its fingers—our zeal must be forgiven if it leads us into strong metaphors—in the direction of those maps of Gaul and Germany and their border lands which we feel sure that Dr. Menke is getting ready for us. While on this point we may remark that the Carolingian age is rather cut short in the original Spruner. There is only one very small *Nebenkarte* which clearly shows the Frankish dominions at their greatest extent in Merovingian times, and there is no map at all of the dominions of Charles himself, except the view of them in the one general map of Europe. We do not doubt that Dr. Menke will make all these things clear, and it will be well also to show all the divisions of the Empire, those which were only planned, as well as those which were actually carried out, in the days of Charles and of Lewis the Pious. This is of special importance, as these divisions show how utterly foreign to the mind of Charles was any geographical division answering in the least to modern France, and how the first idea of such a division, under its proper name of Carolingia, crept in by a kind of accident through one of the partitions made in favour of Charles the Bald. Then, as Dr. Smith so clearly gives us the bounds of the comparatively lasting Roman possessions in Germany, it would really have been a gain to have marked the extent of the momentary Roman occupations under Drusus, Varus, and Germanicus. But then we want all these things brought together in order, not one in one place and one in another. There have been three moments in the history of the world when the same power ruled at the mouths of the Elbe, the Garonne, and the Tiber. The result was indeed gained by three different processes. Under Drusus, the lord of Italy ruled over Gaul and for a moment over Germany. Under Charles, the lord of Germany ruled over Gaul and Italy. Under the elder Buonaparte, the lord of Gaul ruled over Germany and Italy. We ought, in a series of this kind, to have maps showing those three wonderful moments side by side, showing at once the physical likeness of the three periods in the boundaries as marked on the map, and their utter political unlikeness as shown in every detail within those boundaries.

Of the two sets of maps the German ones seem to us on the whole the clearest, and Dr. Menke has grasped the idea of an historical atlas more fully than Dr. Smith. In a series of this kind there ought not to be maps marked vaguely "*Gallia*" and "*Italia*" without any particular date. This is a survival—only a survival, but we are sorry to have so much as a survival—of the days of Bishop Butler (not of Durham) and such like, when we used to have one map to do from Adam to A.D. 476 or 1453—we are not sure which—and another from 476 or 1453 to the time when the map was drawn. All maps are somewhat trying to the eye, and the fuller, and therefore the better they are, of course the more trying. But the more strictly historical the series is made, the more easily we may get rid of the bad side of fulness by marking places in the maps when they were of importance and leaving them out when they were not. In Dr. Smith's series, the Jewish series, for which we suppose we have to thank Mr. Grove, strike us as the clearest. The Greek series are to our eyes comparatively indistinct. Both Atlases will be very useful as they are, but they would be more than twice as useful if they were rolled into one.

CUNYNGHAME'S TRAVELS IN THE CAUCASUS.*

INCREASED facilities for locomotion by land or sea have considerably widened the area of autumnal tours, and the qualification for entry into a well-known London club—that the candidate should have been five hundred miles from England—has long been merely nominal. The consequence of travelling made easy is that we have an abundant crop of vacation wanderings and summer trips. A well-known barrister gives us his experiences of the celebrated fair at Nishni Novogorod. Two or three adventurous young Englishmen stir the hearts of members of the Alpine Club by accounts of the ascent of Caucasian pinnacles hitherto only known to them by commonplaces from the Latin poets. Occasionally a lady invades the domain of masculine adventurers with pen and pencil, and describes Circassian scenery and Turkish harems with the grace, the ease, and the delicacy which characterize the volume published by Mrs. Harvey. But we have reason to know that this authoress obeyed the Horatian precept, and kept her manuscript locked up for seven, if not nine years. The multiplication of similar volumes, not always subjected to the same judicious ordeal, is a contingency for which we must be prepared; but, by complying with certain stipulations, travellers who rush into print with their experiences have no need to fear a rigid censorship. The conditions should be, however, carefully observed. The author should have something pointed, original, or interesting to tell, and he should endeavour

* *Travels in the Eastern Caucasus, on the Caspian and Black Seas; especially in Daghestan, and on the Frontiers of Persia and Turkey, during the Summer of 1871.* By Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Thurlow Cunyng-hame, K.C.B., &c. Illustrated by Henry Hardinge Cunyng-hame, of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: John Murray. 1872.

to tell it with method, simplicity, and condensation. He should confine himself to topics connected with his calling and profession, if he cannot charm by style, or occupy regions wholly unexplored. We might, for instance, then look for speculations on the development of Russian commerce from a merchant; for a disquisition on the primitive simplicity of Turkish justice from a lawyer; for remarks on politics from a Secretary of Legation; for catalogues of fauna and flora from a sportsman or member of the Alpine Club; for depreciatory comments on Eastern agriculture from an M.P. who, like Tennyson's Baronet, is

A breeder of fat oxen and fat sheep,
A pamphleteer on guano and on grain;

and for the system of officering any foreign army in which purchase is unknown, and yet jobbery is not unfrequent, from a veteran who had served in the Crimean war and the Indian Mutiny. In short, if we are to have a succession of new "Ramblers" and "Idlers" at the close of every long vacation, we must stipulate for a careful avoidance of trite and familiar topics, for a wise retrenchment of superfluities, and for as much of artistic workmanship as can be attained by ordinary diligence and care.

The author of the volume before us is a soldier who has had considerable experience of active warfare and of foreign travel. He is also connected by marriage with a deceased veteran who had seen Moore fall at Corunna, and had helped Lord Gough to repel and defeat the Sikhs. Sir Arthur Cunynghame has fought at Inkermann, where he was Quarter-master of a division; has looked on the celebrated Porcelain Tower at Nankin; and, in India, has had under his orders such dashing leaders of irregular cavalry as General Probyn and Colonel Fane. We therefore have reason to welcome his recollections of Crimean battle-fields, and his military reconnaissance of the difficult mountain passes where Shamyl maintained his unequal struggle for years against the whole force of the Russian Empire. But one fault of the book is that it is much too long. At least eighty pages at the very commencement should have been entirely omitted. Vienna and the Danube, Varna and Bucharest, are well known, and there is nothing either so striking in Sir Arthur's adventures, or so suggestive in his remarks, as to detain us profitably among Wallachian scenery and Hungarian wines. The description of the Boulevards or of the opera at the Austrian capital might possibly be of service for the latest edition of Murray's Guide-books. An anecdote of a young English lady who, while at an hotel at Brussels, nearly killed herself by stepping on a skylight, is irrelevant and unnecessary; and we hardly require to be told that a well-known general in the Turkish service, unlike Mr. Vincent Crummies, was by birth a Prussian. But there is nothing tedious, and a good deal both valuable and animated, in Sir Arthur Cunynghame's remaining narrative. He took for his summer and autumn tour a country which in point of conveniences, civilization, and development, is about midway between the beaten track where any one tourist, like hundreds of others, is pillaged by innkeepers or "done for" by couriers, and those wild steppes in which tents may be assailed by brawny Bedouins, and the firman of a Pasha be no sort of protection against the requisitions of a tribe of nomads and plunderers. We are still within a region where, after dismal experiences of vermin and mosquitoes, crowded steamers, hard boards for sleeping couches, Russian tea-urns, and Tartar saddles, the author lands us at a capital which boasts of a museum and an opera house, a number of fine bridges, a Parisian milliner, and a street of European shops. Sir Arthur, as might be expected from his service and position, journeyed under the protection of commendatory letters; and difficulties about post-horses and vehicles and times of departure were smoothed away, as we were prepared to hear, when a Crimean veteran was introduced to Grand-dukes and generals who showed him even more than the usual courtesy and attention of old antagonists. It is true that the writer made no attempt to ascend Mount Ararat, like Mr. Freshfield, and that he only looked at the snow-capped summits of Kasbek and Alburz, or Elburz, which this latter gentleman successfully assailed. But he has the eye of an old campaigner and of a genuine sportsman for the geography of a wild and picturesque region; he can bear with equanimity the hardships and inconveniences of a journey where the traveller is jolted in vehicles without springs, or rides long distances on horseback; his pages are free from flippancy, and his self-assertion is never offensive; while the concluding chapters contain advice and information well calculated to inform intending tourists of the best time and mode to visit the country, whether the object be sport, adventure, political knowledge, commerce, or scenery.

The real interest of the trip commences with the departure from Constantinople. We should mention that Sir Arthur was accompanied by his son, an undergraduate of Cambridge; and the two, after visiting Odessa, Nicolaëff with its arsenals and Boulevards, Sebastopol and Kerch, and Taganrog, determined on ascending the Don by steamer, and then, taking advantage of a short railway which unites the above river with the Volga, they came down the latter stream and saw Astracan and a settlement of Kalmucks in the neighbourhood of that port. Thence they sailed down the Caspian Sea for two hundred and thirty miles, and entered Eastern Caucasus by the port of Petrolvka. From this point they visited Guinib in Daghestan, the scene of Shamyl's last struggle, Bodlith, Vladicavcas, Tiflis, and Erivan, with the convent at Etchmiazin in the vicinity; then descended to the frontiers of Persia, but, instead of going on to Tabreez, as did Mr. Freshfield and his companions, returned by Borjome to Poti

on the Black Sea. Thence, by the Turkish ports of Batoum and Trebizond, the return was easy to Constantinople, and so by steamer to Trieste. The time spent in this journey was just four months, and the expense was under 140*l*.

We select from this volume a few of the topics which either have some interest in themselves, or which show the writer's power of observation. Russian farms are said to be enormous in extent, and one gentleman, apparently residing near Taganrog, was believed to have forty thousand acres under tillage. The typical Dorsetshire peasant might sigh or rebel if he knew that Russian labourers at harvest time received from eight to twelve shillings a day, and that withal the profits to the corn-grower were "enormous" whenever there was a bad harvest in Western Europe. Provisions in Daghestan are marvellously cheap. At Grosnia the best meat was threepence, and bread a halfpenny a pound; pheasants a shilling a brace, and partridges ninepence. Black grapes, at the same place, were not quite a halfpenny a pound. Georgian artisans must, however, have a good deal of the Asiatic in their character and mode of work, if the following anecdote can be implicitly relied on. An English carpenter was backed against four natives to work at turning out oaken posts. They began at six A.M., and in ten hours and a-half the Englishman had finished thirty-four, while the natives had only finished thirty-one. We confess to be haunted by an apprehension lest this result merely conceals a tribute to that national vanity by which, in Nelson's time, our grandfathers were taught to believe firmly that one Englishman could thrash three Frenchmen. The trade in walnut-wood has, by the way, been monopolized by a French firm or firms, and this material, shipped to Marseilles from the neighbourhood of Poti, enables the manufacturer to sell veneered and polished work at a vast profit. On the other hand, let no man excite envy and hate by using skilled machinery of which all that the native can comprehend is that he is thereby ruined. A gentleman whose name is concealed, and whose nationality is not quite clear, set up a steam saw-mill near Tiflis, and naturally displaced the old-fashioned saw-pits. The sawyers took alarm, and one day quietly burnt down the new workshop. In some points the position of the Russians in Georgia is not very unlike our own in India. They have a Governor-General in the shape of a Grand Duke, who holds his Court at a civilized capital, enjoys a salary about three times that of the Indian Viceroy, and retires to Borjome during the heats of summer, just as Lord Northbrook has done, and probably will do, to Simla. It is only two years ago that the great leader of the Circassian patriots died at St. Petersburg, where, like many an Indian pensioner or representative of dethroned majesty, he was living as a political prisoner under honourable surveillance. In spite of a strong military force capable of overawing disaffection and holding the country, mountaineers till lately made raids into the plains, and even now they steal horses from the camp. Officers stationed at Peshawur were recently subject to the very same visitations, but the English sentries do not retaliate by shooting the thieves, as, according to Sir A. Cunynghame, the Russian soldiers had done in Grosnia just before his arrival. The statement recently published by Mr. Palgrave as to the exodus of Mahomedans from the countries which have passed under Russian supremacy is fully corroborated in the book before us. Sir Arthur ascribes the migration, not to heaviness of taxation, but to hatred of compulsory service on road-making. Of the fact there can be no question, and from this movement it is not unfair to infer, for Islam, a more complete union and a latent capacity to resist aggression. All that Sir Arthur Cunynghame says regarding the facilities of the Caucasian country for a patriotic struggle, the straits to which the Russians were reduced previous to the capture of Kars in 1854, and our faulty strategy at that very period, is clear, if it be not absolutely convincing. With reference to Shamyl's perseverance we may quote an anecdote, not generally known, which exemplifies the readiness of the Persians in sarcastic repartee. When the late Emperor of Russia was making a tour in Georgia so far back as 1837, a high Persian dignitary introduced the heir-apparent of Persia to the Imperial presence. In the course of conversation, Nicolas, with reference to the designs then entertained by Persia on Herat and Afghanistan, observed to the Persian Ambassador—"Who are these Afghans that they should be allowed to laugh at your beard? Whose dogs are they to stand in the path of Mahommed Shah?" "Oh," answered the Amir, "they are an insignificant set of vagabonds, not worth naming; idle, ungodly scoundrels, very like those Lesghies and Daghestanians you have in the mountains." This reply would have been not unworthy of Palmerston or Castlereagh. We give the story as it was current some years ago at Teheran, where, of course, it redounded to the national credit.

For those who, wearied with the sameness of English sport, are content to rough it on something less than steaks and porter, the Caucasus and the seas in its vicinity offer an untried field. There are magnificent forests, tempting swamps, fine streams, and rocky defiles, with snowy ranges in the distance. Besides abundance of small game, the ibex is found at great heights, and deer of several kinds and wild boar can be had along the slopes and in the forests. Pheasants swarm in one tract; snipe and woodcock in another; wild-fowl in a third. The rivers are said to contain trout and salmon, or rather what appeared to General Cunynghame, by description, to be a species akin to the mahseer of India. Tourists and sportsmen will, however, recollect that the chase in these localities can only be followed by those who can live in small tents, who can bear alternations of sharp

cold and steamy warmth, and who will take due precautions against ague and jungle fever. The volume is enriched with twenty-eight excellent illustrations from the pencil of the author's son. They deal with a variety of subjects ranging from an Armenian church and a Mohammedan mosque to views of the deserted Sebastopol and the ruined Malakoff. We are bound to say that they evince very considerable artistic talent, and that the mountain scenes may fairly bear a comparison with the illustrations of Mr. Freshfield's work. In both instances Mr. Edward Whymper appears to have given his assistance to set off the rough materials of the artists to the very best advantage. One engraving at page 75 deserves a special mention. It is that of the brazen serpent from Delphi, afterwards in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, and now enclosed by a wall. We may be excused for reminding our readers of a summary of the historical evidence of this remarkable relic, as given by Gibbon in one of his pithy and incisive notes:—"The bodies of three serpents are twisted into one pillar of brass," says the historian in his text, and "their triple heads had once supported the golden tripod which, after the defeat of Xerxes, was consecrated in the temple of Delphi by the victorious Greeks." Then, in the note, we are told that the consecration of the tripod and pillar may be proved from Herodotus and Pausanias; that the Pagan Zosimus agrees with three ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius, Socrates, and Sozomen, in stating that the ornaments of the temple were removed to Constantinople by Constantine; that, amongst them, the serpentine pillar of the Hippodrome is particularly mentioned; and that all modern travellers, from Bunsen to Pico, describe it as in the same place and in the same manner. Of course Gibbon could not refrain from remarking that the guardians of the most holy relics would rejoice if they could produce such a chain of evidence. A reference to the above passage would have been of service to readers who have forgotten Gibbon or had not the book at hand. But we shall be surprised if this tour, following on that of Mr. Freshfield, does not tempt several adventurers during next autumn to explore the defiles of Georgia, to test the respective merits of a Télega and a Tarantase, to climb a glacier, to stalk an ibex, and to pay a visit to places so well worth seeing as Tiflis and Erivan.

SHELLEY'S EARLY LIFE.*

MR. MAC CARTHY says in his preface that he ventures to offer this book to the public "as an honest contribution to those authentic materials out of which, sooner or later, a thoroughly trustworthy life may be written of Percy Bysshe Shelley." So much may be granted without hesitation. Mr. MacCarthy has industriously gone over the early part of Shelley's life; he has carefully investigated the statements which have hitherto passed current with biographers; he has detected many errors; and he has discovered a few new facts which will have to take their place in future lives of Shelley. At the same time the book is interesting rather to Dryasdust than to the general reader. It is more in the nature of a running commentary upon previous writers than of an independent work. Mr. MacCarthy does not attempt to construct a portrait from the materials which he has collected, and, to say the truth, the book, though short, is rather tiresome even to an admirer of Shelley. Few writers, indeed, could throw a charm over an elaborate discussion of petty details and exposure of the petty errors of their predecessors; and Mr. MacCarthy is no exception. We fear, too, that his merits as an investigator are limited to industrious and accurate research. We are compelled to dissent from the inferences which he draws from his facts, though we cannot but be grateful for the pains which he has taken in providing us with the necessary data for forming our own opinion. Without following him into his various attacks on the accuracy of previous writers, and especially of poor Mr. Hogg, of whom he speaks with special indignation, we will briefly consider the two main discoveries which Mr. MacCarthy conceives himself to have established.

The first of these is that Shelley wrote a poem which has completely disappeared, and of which the very existence has never been previously recognized. The evidence on the subject may be briefly stated. During Shelley's brief visit to Ireland, of which Mr. MacCarthy has given a fuller account than had hitherto been published, an article appeared in the *Weekly Messenger* which, after an elaborate eulogy of Shelley's many virtues, concludes in these words:—"Mr. Shelly (*sic*), commiserating the sufferings of our distinguished countryman, Mr. Finerty (*sic*), whose exertions in the cause of political liberty he much admired, wrote a very beautiful poem, the profits of which we understand, from *undoubted* authority, Mr. Shelly remitted to Mr. Finerty; we have heard they amounted to nearly a hundred pounds. This fact speaks a volume in favour of our new friend." Finerty had been imprisoned for eighteen months for a libel on Lord Castlereagh, and subscriptions had been opened on his behalf by Sir F. Burdett and other Radicals of that day. Mr. MacCarthy has discovered Shelley's name put down for a guinea in a list of subscriptions in the *Oxford Herald*; the trial having occurred during Shelley's brief academical career. In the next number of the same paper—namely, on March 9th, 1811—is an advertisement of "A Poetical Essay on the Existing State of Things," by "A Gen-

tleman of the University of Oxford." The essay is described as just published, its price is two shillings, and it is said to be for Finerty's benefit. A motto is added from Southey's *Curse of Kehama*. Advertisements of the same poem occur in the *Morning Chronicle* of March 15th and 21st, and in the *Times* of April 10th and 11th, 1811. These are all the explicit references to the poem. Shelley himself nowhere speaks of it, unless it be identical with an "Essay on Love," mentioned in a letter to Godwin of January 16th, 1812. The word "essay," says Mr. MacCarthy, "gives great probability to this supposition." We confess that no two subjects seem to us more unlikely to be confounded than "love" and the "existing state of things." However, our readers can judge for themselves. The only remaining fact bearing on the question is that Shelley sent to Godwin the article from the *Weekly Messenger*, but made no special reference to the statement about the poem. Mr. MacCarthy infers that the statement must have been true. On the other hand, he admits that Leigh Hunt, who took a particular interest in Finerty, and who afterwards became intimate with Shelley, says nothing about it; that no reference is ever made in the many subscription lists published to any sum received on account of the profits, and that Mr. Finerty's relations knew nothing of it. "It is incredible," however, that Mr. Finerty "would not have contradicted this statement of the presentation to him of the profits of a poem if it were not true." Still Mr. MacCarthy admits the subject to be "full of difficulties."

That such a poem was published is probable enough. Indeed the advertisements quoted seem to prove it beyond all reasonable doubt. The one singular statement is that the profits were nearly 100*l.*, and indeed this statement is so singular that we altogether decline to believe it. The argument from the silence of Shelley and of Finerty is palpably worthless. Shelley may have been silent because Godwin knew the statement to be false, as well as because he knew it to be true; or he may have overlooked it, or thought it unimportant; or he may have forgotten to notice it, when writing in a hurry; or he may even have regarded it as a pious fraud likely to be useful to the cause. Mr. Finerty may have been a good man and a true patriot; but such is the weakness of human nature that political agitators, even when they are Irishmen, frequently forget to contradict inaccurate statements calculated to help their agitation. Meanwhile the reasons against accepting the assertion are obvious. In order to make 100*l.* by a poem sold for two shillings, it is plain that, even if we should assume that the poem was published for nothing, and that the author received the whole retail price, a thousand copies must have been sold; for a thousand times two shillings only makes 100*l.* Now, as these assumptions are manifestly extravagant, as is known to everybody who ever published or bought books, we may safely say that to produce 100*l.* profit the poem must have gone through two or three editions. We may take a case which is oddly parallel. Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* was sold for two shillings; it went through five editions in less than three months; and there is a story—not very authentic it is true—that Goldsmith, on being offered 100 guineas by the publisher, refused it, as manifestly more than the poem could produce. Goldsmith knew as well as any one that publishers might be trusted not to ruin themselves by extravagant liberality to authors. It appears, however, that he received less than 100*l.* for the poem. Now, if Shelley forty years afterwards received nearly 100*l.* for a poem sold at the same price, we may fairly infer that it must have had a very large sale. In that case it would clearly have been advertised more than four times; it would, moreover, have been a perfectly unique case in Shelley's literary career, for even his best poems never obtained quick popularity; and, finally, it is impossible to believe that it could have utterly disappeared from the world, so that its very existence should have been forgotten for sixty years. Shelley would probably have mentioned it; and undoubtedly some of his admirers would have preserved it. The whole story, indeed, is so wildly improbable that it may be dismissed without further argument. We will merely add that, as Mr. MacCarthy is constantly boasting of his accuracy, he should not have used the phrase, the poem "is said to have produced the sum of 100*l.*" It is only said to have produced "nearly 100*l.*"; and even this statement is introduced by the phrase "we have heard"; whereas the preceding sentence, stating that the poem was published, speaks of knowledge "on undoubted authority." The difference is significant.

The facts, as we should guess, are something of this kind—Shelley published a poem for Finerty's benefit. Like his other early poems, it was probably trash; for few literary facts are more curious than that Shelley, who produced some of the finest poetry in the language before he was thirty, had written nothing but masses of rubbish, even on the showing of his most devoted admirers, till he was past twenty. Unlike Milton, Pope, and Keats, his early writings show scarcely a touch of his future genius. The poem did not sell; there were no profits, and Finerty got nothing by it. But an Irish editor "had heard"—not a very unprecedented phenomenon—a totally inaccurate report about it, and neither Shelley nor Finerty took the trouble to contradict him.

The second discovery made by Mr. MacCarthy is that Shelley was potentially a great orator. It is known that whilst in Dublin he made a speech at a public meeting. Mr. Hogg says that it was a failure. Mr. MacCarthy calls this a "reckless misrepresentation." He says that a witness, of whom we shall speak directly, "bears the most unequivocal testimony to the eloquence of the young

* *Shelley's Early Life*. By Denis Florence MacCarthy. London: J. C. Hotten.

speaker," and declares this testimony to be "decisive as to the probabilities of Shelley's success as an orator had he devoted himself to a political career." We do not call this a "reckless misrepresentation," for we are convinced that it is an excusable mistake; but we suspect that Mr. Hogg's account is far nearer the truth than Mr. Mac Carthy's. We will briefly give the evidence on the subject.

The speech is reported in three newspapers; all the reports are very brief; one says that "Shelley was received with great kindness"; and another mentions "loud applause for several minutes," as following Shelley's opening statement that as an Englishman he blushed for the crimes committed by his nation in Ireland. Besides this are two reports from persons employed by the police, and preserved in the Record Office. One of these is verbatim, as follows:—"Lord Glentworth said a few words, a Mr. Bennett spoke, also Mr. Shelley, who stated himself to be a native of England." The other does not even allude to Shelley. It mentions, however, a speech by "Mr. Wise, a young boy," as "of considerable length and replete with much elegant language." Shelley's speech, Mr. Mac Carthy thinks, has here been inadvertently given to Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Wyse, the late English Ambassador in Greece—first because "a young boy" refers better to Shelley, who was only nineteen and a half, than to Wyse, who was twenty-one; and, secondly, because the account does not apply in some respects to the fuller reports of Mr. Wyse's speech. At most, however, this is a highly conjectural statement, and we have more direct testimony at hand. The late Chief Baron Woulfe, who heard him, described him in terms which, as Mr. Mac Carthy says, leave the impression that he was "a cold, methodical, and ineffective speaker." The description was given a considerable time afterwards, and when the describer was in bad health. Still, so far as it goes, it is direct testimony. Shelley, however, is the best witness himself. The impression made upon him by his own performance is shown in this passage from a letter:—"My speech was misinterpreted. I spoke for more than an hour. The hisses with which they greeted me when I spoke of religion, though in terms of respect, were mixed with applause when I avowed my mission. The newspapers have only noted that which did not excite disapprobation."

This testimony seems to us to be conclusive. Shelley evidently felt that he had made a failure. No young orator ever wrote in such terms after his first triumph in moving an audience. The newspapers in favour of his party naturally softened his want of success; but an orator knows when he is applauded, and Shelley clearly felt that he had not met with genuine sympathy. Mr. Mac Carthy, however, thinks that he has "decisive" evidence to the contrary. The witness to whom we have already referred is a certain anonymous "Englishman," who describes the speech in a letter to the *Dublin Journal*, which was then, we presume, a Government organ. He says that he was disgusted to "observe with what transport the invectives of this renegade Englishman against his native country were hailed by the assembly he addressed. Joy beamed on every countenance, and rapture glistened in every eye at the aggravated detail; the delirium of ecstasy got the better of prudential control; the veil was for a moment withdrawn;" and in short, the "Englishman" saw that the audience, though the orator spoke only of emancipation, thought of "separation and ascendancy."

Mr. Mac Carthy, with all his pretensions to accuracy, calls this a description of Shelley as an orator, and says, as we have seen, that the letter bears unequivocal testimony to the young speaker's eloquence. Yet there is not in the letter a single word about Shelley's eloquence; and everything that is said is perfectly consistent with the newspaper reports, with Shelley's own letter, and with Chief Baron Woulfe's account. To what does it really amount? Simply that when Shelley, introduced as an Englishman and the son of an English member of Parliament, abused England for its injustice to Ireland, Irishmen applauded warmly. Does that imply that Shelley was an eloquent speaker, or that he would certainly have succeeded if he had adopted a political career? We will venture to say that the worst orator in England at the present moment might produce enthusiastic cheers by denouncing English injustice to Ireland at a Home Rule meeting. The "Englishman" and the papers alike suppress the fact that he was afterwards hissed for attacking Catholicism; the papers because they were on his side, and the "Englishman" because his only object seems to be to prove the disloyalty of the Irish. Shelley may or may not have had a potential orator within him; but we hold it to be quite clear, in spite of Mr. Mac Carthy's assertions, that he did not prove it at this meeting in Dublin. Mr. Mac Carthy's judgment on this matter is only on a par with his notion that Shelley showed political wisdom because he was more sanguine than Godwin as to the result of an agitation for Roman Catholic Emancipation and Repeal of the Union. Nobody else can read the story without seeing one more proof of the singular immaturity of Shelley's mind at this period of his life, and of that curious incapacity for dealing with the things of the everyday world which marked him throughout his career.

We shall not, however, investigate any more of Mr. Mac Carthy's statements. He has proved, as we think, that Shelley published a poem which is lost, and which probably deserved to be lost. He has found some additional evidence about Shelley's single speech; but, though he does not himself admit it, we think that he has only confirmed the substantial accuracy of Hogg's account. Whether Shelley might have been a good orator, and whether he may have added one more poem to the quantity of bad juvenile verses already known, are matters of no great importance;

but biographers are an omnivorous race, and Shelley's biographers in the future will have to read Mr. Mac Carthy's pages and be grateful for his industry, if not for his acuteness. We will add that the two rare pamphlets which Shelley printed at Dublin, and two others almost equally rare published at Marlow, are also reprinted here for the benefit of the curious students of the bad writings of good authors.

DESCHANEL'S ELEMENTARY PHYSICS.*

THE value of Professor Deschanel's *Traité élémentaire de Physique*, published five years ago, has been amply recognized in his own country. It has been already adopted by the Minister of Instruction as the text-book upon the subject for Government schools. Systematically arranged, clearly written, and admirably illustrated, showing no less than 760 engravings on wood and three coloured plates, it forms a model work for a class in Experimental Physics. Far from losing in its English dress any of the qualities of matter or style which distinguished it in its original form, it may be said to have gained in the able hands of Professor Everett, both by way of arrangement and of incorporation of fresh matter, without parting in the translation with any of the freshness or force of the author's text. By the side of M. Guillemin's treatise which we noticed a few weeks back, and which goes over much the same ground, with a very similar distribution of subjects and an interchange of a large number of the same woodcuts and coloured engravings, M. Deschanel's volume may present a less attractive style of getting up as a drawing-room work—especially in the absence of the exquisite chromatic scales which so happily set off the *Forces of Nature*. But, appealing as it does to a more advanced class of readers, it goes at most points far more deeply into the truths of physics than M. Guillemin's manual, and is marked by greater exactness of treatment. The introduction of algebraic formulæ, without exacting any more severe exercise of thought than is involved in the differential and integral calculus, is of great value as giving the student a firm hold of those analytical processes without which no really scientific knowledge of nature is to be had, and in the use of which the science of modern days possesses an organon of inquiry wondrously in advance of that wielded by the geometricians of old time. In not a few instances the English editor has had it in his power to simplify or make clear the mathematical formulæ or proofs laid down by the author, as well as the statements of fact or chains of reasoning upon which later observation or more critical inquiry could be brought to bear. We miss from the edition before us the collection of problems, chiefly taken from the examination of the Faculty of Sciences in Paris for the bachelor's degree, which still stands as part of the programme of what is promised us in the author's preface. The insertion of these would have been welcomed, if for no other purpose than that of enabling us to compare the educational tests in use amongst our neighbours with those familiar to us at home, and to form a clearer estimate of our respective methods of scientific training.

In other respects every change has been, on the whole, on the side of decided gain to the English student. Quantitative statements of weights and measures have in general been expressed in British units, though in many cases the numerical values given in the original in terms of the metric system have been retained, with or without their English equivalents, as being extensively in use among men of science in all countries, besides affording peculiar facilities for scientific calculation. A complete table of metrical and British equivalents makes comparative reference at all times easy. Many additions have been thought to be called for by the special exigencies of physical education, or the course of philosophical discussion in this country, or, above all, by the advance which may here be fairly claimed in certain departments of experimental science. The strict and accurate method of treating electrical subjects which has been established among us by Sir W. Thomson and his coadjutors has not yet, as Professor Everett with justice pleads, been adopted in France, nor does the whole of Faraday's electromagnetic work seem as yet to be thoroughly appreciated by French writers. A considerable portion of the third part of the present work has accordingly been recast, and two original chapters added, with an appendix upon electrical and magnetic units, making this the most complete and valuable part of the book. The former of these new chapters relates chiefly to "electrical potential and lines of electric force," of which no mention whatever is made in the original work; the second is descriptive of various kinds of electrometers, by means of which potential is measured. The elements of this branch of electrical theory are largely drawn from Professors Thomson and Tait's *Natural Philosophy*, and from the papers of the former able writer in the *Philosophical Transactions*. The reader will be prepared for this onward step in physical philosophy if he has carefully read up the preceding chapters on electrical induction, the duality of electricity, and the laws of attraction and repulsion, with the methods and results of measurement laid down by Coulomb. The law of inverse squares is rigorously verified by the experiments of Biot

* *Elementary Treatise on Natural Philosophy*. By A. Privat Deschanel, formerly Professor of Physics in the Lycée Louis-le-Grand, Inspector of the Academy of Paris. Translated and Edited, with extensive additions, by J. D. Everett, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S.E., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Queen's College, Belfast. London: Blackie & Son. 1872.

and Faraday, showing that electricity resides only on the external surface of a charged conductor, there being at the same time no electrical force in the space enclosed by this surface. Faraday even tested this fact by himself entering a cubical box charged by means of a powerful electrical machine, Biot having shown the same law to hold good in a hollow sphere. Now if the conductor be a sphere removed from the influence of external bodies, its charge must be distributed uniformly over its entire surface. Mathematical proof can thus be adduced to show that the fact of a uniform spherical shell exerting no attraction at any point of the interior space holds good in the case of the law of attraction being that of inverse squares, and in no other—the law, we need scarcely say, which governs universal gravitation. A series of experiments with the sphere, the ellipsoid, the cylinder, and the disk makes it clear that the distribution of electricity on the surface of a conductor is independent of the amount of charge, and is determined simply by the form of the conductor. The dissipation of electrical charges is found by experiment to follow the same law as that deduced by Newton for the operation of cooling in heated bodies, the rate of loss being simply proportional to the charge.

Although the great charm of the book lies in the clearness and vividness of its illustrations, which serve the reader to some extent in as good stead as the experiments of a laboratory, it is of even higher importance to him to reach in succession such points of generalization as those which we have selected for notice. In the absence of definite ideas as to what electricity is in itself, the best we can do is to lay down distinct and positive data along the line of progress, and amid so much that is unavoidably empirical, to grasp wherever it is possible such truths as seem to be brought within the scope and the processes of exact science. How much has been done by way of mathematical deduction from such laws as that of the inverse squares may be seen in the case of lines or "tubes" of force, briefly explained by Professor Everett. It is deeply interesting to observe, as an instance of the harmony or unity which pervades all the forces of nature, the analogy which holds good between the intensity of force in a "tube" or flow of electricity bounded by imaginary lines and the velocity of a body of liquid in its passage through a tube or elongated channel. The product of area by velocity is the volume of liquid which flows past any section in the unit of time. Lines of flow are thus the analogues of lines of force. Lines of force are also proved to be the lines along which induction takes place, the total quantities of inducing and induced electricity being in every case equal, and of opposite sign, positive or negative. Coming at length to the relation between potential and work, we get the definition of the resultant potential at any point due to several different quantities of electricity, as $\Sigma \frac{q}{r}$, or the

algebraic sum of the potentials due to the different quantities separately considered, $\frac{Q}{r}$ being the whole work done by or against the force of an element q , in bringing a unit of electricity from infinite distance to a point at a distance r from the element. In the chapter on condensers, the application of abstract formulas or points of theory such as these to purposes of utility is made instructively manifest. In that on electro-motors, the most recent gains in the economy of telegraphs, light-mechanism, printing, and other machinery are summed up, the means of measuring electro-motive force being given by what is known as Ohm's law—that the current is equal to the electro-motive force divided by the resistance, and the resistance determined by Wheatstone's "rheostat," or his "bridge," or the apparatus of M. Jules Regnault.

On the subjects of heat and sound, as well as upon the general principles of force, molecular physics, and the laws of motion in fluids, M. Deschanel leaves little to be desired. It is chiefly in the section of thermo-dynamics that the editor has felt himself called upon to modify or supplement his author. The chapters on conduction of heat and on terrestrial temperatures have been nearly re-written, and much new matter has been added in connexion with hygrometry and weather tests in general, the theory of exchanges originally known as Prevost's theory, or that of the "mobile equilibrium of temperature," and the specific heats of gases. In the concluding part on optics, the chapters on the wave theory and the polarization of light are new, and many modifications have been introduced to bring this important section up to the latest and most advanced standard of knowledge. What we look for in a work of this class is not so much new and profound additions to what is known as the clear and systematic exposition of well ascertained results. If not so full or so striking as the sections on magnetism and electricity, this portion of M. Deschanel's work forms a good introduction to one of the most attractive, as well as the most rapidly advancing, of physical studies. The subject of spectrum analysis, with the boundless vista of promise opened by this most beautiful of recent discoveries in optics, will be found briefly but clearly treated, illustrated as it is by a well drawn and coloured sheet, exhibiting the lines and hues of the spectra of various sources of light, contrasting those of the solar disk and edge with those of the principal gases and elementary solids. The effect of pressure in forming a continuous spectrum, as proved by the experiments of Frankland and Lockyer, may be seen by comparing the varying breadths of bands in different spectra of the same gas, more particularly in the case of hydrogen. A further displacement of lines, not less connected with the undulatory theory of light, is that first traced by Doppler as a consequence of the motion of celestial bodies in space. A certain change of

refrangibility was to be expected from the mutual approach or recession of the observer and the source of light, grounded upon reasoning that had been shown to hold good in the parallel theory of acoustics. Although inadequate to explain in full the different colours of the fixed stars, with which object it was first applied, this principle has proved of very important service in connexion with spectroscopic research. Displacement of a line towards the more refrangible end of the spectrum is found to indicate approach; displacement in the opposite direction to indicate recession; the velocity of either movement being calculable from the observed ratio of displacement. The changes in the straightness of the dark lines of the solar spectrum as the slit of the spectroscope crosses a spot in the sun's disk are no less to be taken as evidence of an up rush or down rush of gases in the sun's atmosphere in the region of the spot. The displacement of the line towards the red end in the spectrum of Sirius, made clear by the fine observations of Dr. Huggins, had been calculated to show an apparent motion of recession at the rate of 41.4 miles per second, reduced by consideration of the motion of the earth in its orbit to a real recession of 29.4 miles per second of Sirius from the sun. In a foot-note Professor Everett refers to a more recent paper, read while this volume was passing through the press, in which Dr. Huggins, as the result of observation with more powerful appliances, reduces the recession of Sirius to twenty miles per second. Arcturus is found to be nearing the sun at the rate of fifty miles in a second. Community of motion in certain sets of stars has been similarly established, and the general belief of astronomers confirmed as to the direction in which the solar system is moving with respect to the stars as a whole. Here, as throughout the book, we have evidence of the pains taken by the editor to give accuracy and finish to his work, as well as of the presence of those qualities which entitle it to confidence as a manual of elementary physics.

LABOULAYE'S POLITICAL LETTERS.*

WHEN the *Lettres politiques* of M. Laboulaye appeared in the *Journal des Débats* the first sentence of the Note to the Editor with which they were introduced seemed of itself to prove that they ought never to have been written. France, said M. Laboulaye, happy in being allowed to take breath, asks only silence and peace. The desire was so natural, the benefits to be derived from its gratification were so obvious, that any suggestion of a Constitution seemed out of place. If the truce of parties could be prolonged, there was at least a chance that they might come to understand one another better. M. Laboulaye's invitation to "examine the situation" with a view to the formation of a regular Government sounded like an announcement that the truce was at an end. By the time, however, that his letters had been collected into a pamphlet, this reason for finding fault with them had disappeared. With or without reason, M. Thiers has decreed that the Government cannot be maintained in the imperfectly organized state in which it exists at present. M. Laboulaye, therefore, may claim the credit of having foreseen the storm, and of having been the first to preach preparation for it. He does not include the issue between a Monarchy and a Republic among those which he describes as waiting for decision. In common with every reasonable French politician, he holds that events have virtually determined the choice of the country. The establishment of a Republic may be a *mariage de raison*, but the bride can bring as her portion union, peace, and liberty—a dowry three times richer than any that can be offered by her rivals. The most immediately important of the questions by him discussed are whether the Constitution, once made, shall be submitted to popular ratification, and whether, after it has been ratified, it shall be treated as open to amendment. The framers of the French Constitution of 1848 thought that they could lay down a fundamental law which the people should not be competent to alter. M. Laboulaye justly says that this is to rest the stability of institutions on the caprice of a particular legislator rather than on their intrinsic merits. The *Code civil* has lasted seventy years with no other protection than the wisdom of its provisions; of the Constitutions decreed to be eternal, not one has lasted five years. A Constitution is not a contract, it is a body of rules designed to promote the public welfare. If the nation is dissatisfied with it, it no longer answers its purpose. In what, then, does a Constitution differ from an ordinary law? In this, that the law is only intended to bind the citizens, while the Constitution is intended to bind the Legislature and the Executive. It follows from this that the Legislature, acting alone, neither ought to make the Constitution in the first instance, nor to alter it when it has been made. Otherwise the Constitution would be at the mercy of the very powers whose authority it is designed to limit.

Up to this point M. Laboulaye is altogether in the right. It is when he comes to the machinery by which the assent of the people is to be obtained, whether to the Constitution itself or to subsequent amendments in it, that we are forced to part company with him. In proposing to revive the *plébiscite*, he seems to forget that the objections to this mode of ratification do not rest only upon the evils which it is alleged to have brought upon France. It is probably true that the *plébiscite* is as innocent of the war of 1870 as of the re-

* *Lettres politiques; esquisse d'une constitution républicaine.* Par Edouard Laboulaye. Paris: Charpentier. 1872

volution of the Fourth of September. It is certainly true that those who would organize democracy in France must frankly accept that popular sovereignty which is its essential condition. The vice of the *plébiscite* is not that it recognizes the sovereignty of the people, but that it provides the sovereign with the worst conceivable mode of giving expression to his will. To insist upon the submission of a Constitution to a popular vote is like forbidding a King to take the advice of his Ministers. In the ordinary business of life men are accustomed to refer all important inquiries to committees of some sort. They distrust their own judgment even in matters with which they are, in comparison with politics, familiar; and, left to themselves, they will distrust them at least as much in politics. M. Laboulaye is an ardent admirer of the Constitution of the United States; and he quotes the example of America as one of the arguments in favour of giving the people the right both of ratification and of amendment. It is to be wished that in this part of his scheme he had been content to copy his model more closely. The Fifth Article of the United States Constitution provides that amendments may be proposed either by Congress or by a special Convention called by Congress on the application of two-thirds of the Legislatures of the several States; and these amendments are to be valid when ratified either by the Legislatures or by Conventions in three-fourths of the several States, according as one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress. There is no approximation to a *plébiscite* here. There is great care to get at the real wishes of the people, and to guard against any approach to a catch vote; there is great consideration for the rights of minorities, for Congress is powerless if more than one-fourth of the local Legislatures, or Conventions specially substituted for them, object to a change; but there is no departure from the principle of representation. It would not be difficult to apply a modification of the same plan to France. If the preparation whether of the original Constitution or of changes in it were entrusted to the National Assembly, the ratification might in both cases be entrusted to the Councils-General, which are, in fact, the local Legislatures of the departments. Or, if it were objected that the type of representative elected to look after local affairs might not be equally suited for voting on a project of a Constitution, the American plan of Conventions elected for this special purpose might be adopted. The main thing to be aimed at would be the certainty that the nation had not been taken unawares and committed by its representatives to a Constitution which in its heart it disliked. To secure this, it is essential that the popular consent shall be given to the Constitution, or to any alterations in it, after they have been reduced to shape as well as when they are only in the air. A people may elect a Constituent Assembly, and may even have some slight knowledge of the kind of Constitution which they wish the Assembly to frame. Yet when the result is actually published, it may be very different from the Constitution they expected, or they may have seen cause in the interval to change their minds on some of its essential features. If it has to be ratified by special Conventions elected for this sole purpose, the nation has an opportunity of giving effect to this change.

This, however, is only a reason for giving the preparation and the ratification of the Constitution to different bodies. A provision for a second Constituent Assembly to be elected the year after the draft Constitution had been published, and to have the right of accepting or rejecting it, would suffice to ensure the nation against being taken by surprise, or being made the victim of any interested coalitions among its representatives. But the American plan ensures even more than this. It breaks up the nation into its component fractions, and ascertains whether, when added together again, they really make up the apparent whole. It is true, no doubt, that the Federal character of the American Government supplies one main reason for requiring the consent of three-fourths of the State Legislatures. In this way the smaller States retain their equality with the larger, and the vote of Delaware neutralizes, as regards amendments of the Constitution, the vote of New York or Pennsylvania. But though this reason for submitting the Constitution to local Conventions does not apply to France, there is another advantage in the plan which makes it worth transplanting. It is important to make constitutional legislation visibly distinct from ordinary legislation, to make people understand that they are engaged in a more important business than that of an ordinary general election. The more conscious the ratification of the Constitution can be made, the less will be the probability of its being subjected to any hasty or capricious alterations. If the electors are simply summoned in two successive years to return two Assemblies, one to frame the Constitution and the other to ratify it, there is very little to bring home to them what it is that they are doing. The second election will usually be only a tamer reproduction of the first. But if the second election is invested with a distinctly local character; if, instead of eight or ten representatives returned by the department to a national Convention, every canton has to send its quota of members to a departmental Convention; if the vote to be taken in this departmental Convention is for the time conclusive, though liable to be nullified by the discovery that less than one-fourth of the other departments have voted in the same sense, the popular interest will necessarily be very much greater. The character of the deputies returned will often be different from that of the deputies returned to a National Convention. They will be men who have ordinarily but little time to give to public affairs, men who, though not in any sense professional politicians,

are known and trusted by their neighbours. These would not be recommendations for membership of a Constituent Assembly. The framing of a Constitution requires a different class of powers. But they would be eminent recommendations for representatives charged with the duty of saying Aye or No to a Constitution already framed. A Constitution adopted by a large majority of local Assemblies composed of representatives of this type would have secured the best attainable evidence that it answered to the wishes of the French nation.

If a Convention for each department should be thought an over-large allowance, it would not be difficult to group several departments together. Almost all Frenchmen now admit that the abolition of the old provincial divisions has been only in part successful, and that, even where it has been successful, it is by no means an unmixed gain. For every one except the legislator Normandy and Brittany, Gascony and Limousin, have still a meaning. It is only in the administration of the country that the varieties of race, of history, of temperament, which these names represent, are ignored. The late Duke of Broglie has pointed out that, twelve years ago, the military divisions which France then contained reproduced with substantial accuracy the old provinces, and that by restoring to each division its old name and its old associations an effective local government might easily be created. This course might be taken for the purposes of the local Conventions which have been spoken of. The number of separate bodies whose business it would be to ratify or reject the Constitution would thus be reduced to nineteen, any five of which would be able to prevent ratification in the first instance and change afterwards.

ANOTHER WORLD.*

THIS is a very curious book, very clearly written, but the exact purport of which it is somewhat hard to understand. "Hermes," whose name appears on the title-page, is ostensibly the editor, not the author, of the fragments of which the work is composed, and which are all uttered by a sage who speaks in the first person, and who, we are to understand, was once, and perhaps is still, the ruler of a planet belonging to our solar system. How the editor received the communications of this mysterious person he does not profess to explain; but, either in solemn earnest or with grave sustained irony, he would urgently dissuade the reader from setting down any of the revelations to the account of a wandering imagination.

From what we have said, many readers in this table-rapping age will be inclined to think that we have here one of those spiritual manifestations which are fast taking a place among the bores of the period. But there is nothing in common between the random utterances of supposed spirits and the plain, matter of fact, and even minute descriptions given by the sage in his fragments. Though he himself, as it seems, organized the polity by which his planet is governed, and though his narrative consists in a great measure of a record of his own legislative labours, there is nothing rhapsodical or enthusiastic in his style; he talks about his kingdom of Montalluyah as a Japanese ambassador might talk about Japan. About a spiritual world he does not profess to discourse. The citizens of Montalluyah live longer than we do, but they are equally mortal—human beings to all intents and purposes, who, thanks to their legislator, have attained a degree of civilization superior in many respects to our own. In describing the manners and customs of this "other world," the narrator does not quit the topics to which earthly thinkers are accustomed. Health, education, marriage, the removal of disease, the prevention of crime, the employment of physical agencies, all come under consideration, and, however strange some of the "revelations" may be, they can seldom be called fantastic. "Hermes," indeed, far from wishing to be conspicuous as a dealer in the marvellous, seems to have published the words of his supposed instructor with a view of furnishing some useful hints to his less enlightened brethren, who, when they learn how things are managed in Montalluyah, may find reason for imitation:—

Let all [he says in his preface] taste the fruit, though they do not behold the tree; profit by the diamonds, though they know not how they were extracted from the mine; accept what is found to be wholesome and fortifying in the waters, though the source of the river is unknown.

Montalluyah then, we may assume, is a Utopia, but the account of it differs herein from that of many other Utopias, that apparently it is almost entirely devoid of satire. Nor is it the sole, though it is the chief, object of "Hermes" to hold forth a model for imitation. He describes animals, plants, and minerals to which nothing corresponds among the objects to be found on earth, and the gravity with which the descriptions are given is most remarkable. If, while repeating the words of the narrator, the "editor" is laughing in his sleeve at the reader, it must be admitted that the use of the sleeve is most efficacious.

Let the book speak for itself. We set down what we gather here and there without the interruption of comment, accepting the narrator of the fragments for the nonce as a veritable and veracious historian. Montalluyah is not only the chief city in the world in question, but its name extends to the entire planet, in which there is but one kingdom, governed by a Supreme Ruler, with the strange title "Tootmanyoso," and by twelve in-

* *Another World; or, Fragments from the Star City of Montalluyah.* By Hermes. London: Samuel Tinsley. 1873.

terior kings.) In religion the people who inhabit it are rigidly monotheistic. In ancient times, it seems, the powers of nature were worshipped till a purer faith was introduced by a mythical sage named Elikoiah, who is only incidentally mentioned, but who was evidently the founder of such civilization as pertained to the inhabitants when the narrator of the fragments, raised to the rank of Tootmanyoso, began his work of reform.

According to mythological tradition the chief antagonist of the venerable Elikoiah was the hippopotamus, who in the early legends of Montalluyah plays a part not altogether dissimilar to that of the serpent in the Mosaic record. However, it was afterwards discovered that this original foe to the mankind of the planet was capable of being utilized to an indefinite degree, and during the reign of the reforming Tootmanyoso it became one of the most valuable animals in the kingdom. The method of training the hippopotamus is described with as much minuteness as if the planetary speaker had an eye to the manager of our Zoological Gardens. The reforms of the Tootmanyoso extended to every particular by which the moral or physical well-being of his people could be affected. Two principles mainly guided him. He settled within himself that in all cases of crime or disease prevention is better than cure, and also that for certain occupations certain persons were exclusively fitted. In these principles there is of course nothing novel; but the minuteness with which the account of their application is given is really surprising. Nothing is too great, nothing too small, for the solicitude of the Tootmanyoso. Now he constructs gigantic works compared with which the Egyptian pyramids are mole-hills; now he promotes the use of machines to prevent babies from hurting themselves by tumbling on their heads. No one can be more perfectly aware than the Tootmanyoso himself of the narrow frontier between the sublime and the ridiculous; but he answers scoffers by remarking that incalculable evil results from the neglect of "little things." Indeed the education of children on the principle that evil ought to be destroyed in the germ is with him an object of especial care; his whole proceeding being founded on the conviction that it is better to extirpate faults in the child than to punish crimes in the man. He founded a college of "character-divers," who by a natural gift, aided by a peculiar discipline, were able to penetrate into the dispositions of the young, and thus to eradicate faults, to develop good qualities, and to guide instructors as to the sort of training suitable to each individual case. He also established "amusement galleries," where in the intervals of study children were allowed to follow the bent of their own inclinations without restraint, thus facilitating the progress of the character-divers in their work of investigation.

The principle of putting the "right man" in the "right place" was pursued by the Tootmanyoso with a vigour which led to the minutest subdivision of labour. The profession of an oculist, for instance, extended, in his opinion, to far too large a subject for the exhaustive study of one man; and physicians were especially employed each in the care of some part of the eye, and so on in the various branches of medical science. One beneficial result of the minute subdivision of studies was an increased facility in the application of physical agencies, among which electricity holds a place so important that it is scarcely too much to say that an electric fluid circulates through all the institutions of Montalluyah. Men of science in that favoured land have discovered that every kind of body or substance, whether animate or inanimate, contains an electricity of its own, and that these different electricities stand in the most varied relations to each other:—

Some are diffused; some are concentrated; others are so tenacious of the body to which they belong that they are all but steadfast. Some are sympathetic; some antipathetic, attracting or repelling each other; some mingle gently; others, when brought into contact, cause violent explosions.

For what purposes these electricities—a large stock of which is preserved ready for use in a large "electric store-house"—may not be employed we cannot discover. By them bodies are lightened, the facilities of locomotion are increased, the germs of disease are eradicated, optical instruments are rendered more efficient, and musical instruments more delightful, flowers are made more beautiful, and photographic art is perfected. With such electricities as there are in Montalluyah, and with a Royal Society guided by such a Tootmanyoso, it is easy to believe that an antediluvian longevity is attained by nearly all the inhabitants, who at last die gently from old age. We can scarcely make out why they should die at all.

In illustration of one of the humblest uses to which electricity is applied we give the statement of a "fact" and its results:—

In my reign some interesting discoveries were made with regard to water. From a source situated in the midst of a lovely scene flowed a spring of remarkably pure quality, some drops of which, taken at a distance, presented, when viewed through a microscope, a true picture of the landscape close to the source from whence they came. Rocks, trees, shrubs, sky, were there faithfully delineated with their varied forms and colours, together with the resemblances of two persons, lovers, seated on the banks. As we afterwards learned, they had been attracted by the beauty of the scene, had sat for a long time in the same place, and their portrait was, as it were, fixed on the water. The electricity of the sun and light had thrown the shadow or picture of the scene on the fluid, whose electricity had been sufficiently strong to retain it, and bear it to the spot whence the drops of water had been taken. This circumstance, and our knowledge that the reflecting power of the water is the result in part of its peculiar electricity, led to a very interesting discovery. With the assistance of a powerful attracting electric machine we can produce, together with the surrounding landscape, the likeness of a person, or of a group, actually many miles from

the machine, if near the water. The image is received on the reflecting mirror of the machine, and an artist immediately copies outlines and colours.

Even some of the spectacles presented in public for the amusement of the people are produced by electrical agency. The only art that does not greatly thrive is the dramatic. Innocent plays of a pastoral kind are indeed occasionally performed; but the tragic drama is extinct. Before the reign of the reformer there was probably a sort of Elizabethan era; and when he came to the throne plays based upon crime were commonly acted. But when, through the aid of character-divers, electricity, &c., crime had fairly been driven beyond the boundary, tragedy became nearly unintelligible, the new generation being scarcely able to understand a plot relating to passions almost foreign to their nature.

So curious and so unconnected are the subjects set before us, that any selection we make must be by a somewhat haphazard process. Perhaps, as being a narrative complete in itself, and not resembling anything we have met in works of Oriental fiction, we shall not do wrong in giving the history of the Allmanyuka. The people of Montalluyah, it seems, who are generally fond of good living, and have been encouraged even by the reformer in a taste for gorgeous costume, which is minutely described, were accustomed in the early part of the Tootmanyoso's reign to make liberal use of sauces seasoned with stimulating spice. An epidemic disease arose, and, by means of a microscope (which was of course electrical), was traced to the operation of unwholesome condiments. Not without misgivings, so generally was the taste for the spice diffused, did the Tootmanyoso forbid its use. The extreme heat of the climate rendered stimulants necessary, and there was no known fruit or vegetable that could be employed as a substitute for the prohibited kind. The injurious condiments were indeed secured in large warehouses, and placed under the charge of the inferior kings before mentioned; but the Tootmanyoso was aware that, unless some new stimulant were discovered, the serpent would have been scotched, not killed. He shut himself up in a little cabinet at the summit of his palace, and passed some hours in meditation and prayer. At last a light burst upon him, and, having provided his people with a temporary cordial, he gathered a vegetable which bears the name Japperhanka and has a rich creamy taste, and grafted it on a tree called the Klook, the fruit of which has a sour aromatic flavour. By this combination he succeeded in growing a small vegetable uniting the flavour of cream with the piquancy of lemon, but lacking the stimulating qualities of the prohibited article. Into the seed of this new vegetable, therefore, in which an incision had been made, were inserted particles extracted from the seed of every spice-plant, and the care of the preparation was entrusted to the principal gardener, who after a while came to his master with the intelligence that a little bud was bursting forth in the urn in which the seed had been sown. In about three years fruit made its appearance, and the first specimen was brought in by the gardener in a basket, beautiful even for Montalluyah, where basket-work is carried to extraordinary perfection. On perceiving the contents of the basket the Tootmanyoso uttered "such a cry of joy as might escape a parent on finding a long-lost child." The first cooking of this precious product was not to be entrusted to the care of an ordinary chef. The Tootmanyoso, having ordered a small bird to be got ready, made with his own hands the sauce on which so much depended. The success was beyond expectation. So exquisitely appetizing was the condiment, that an epicure (the word is known in Montalluyah) might easily be tempted to eat the vegetable without the addition of the meat. Afterwards the fruit was extensively cultivated, declared wholesome by the new infallible doctors, and relished by all the people, who were loud in their manifestations of gratitude. As for the great inventor, he betook himself to the harp and sang hymns of thanksgiving. The harp, it is to be observed, is in Montalluyah the chief of all instruments, and a very magnificent instrument it is:—

Around its framework most elegant and tasteful ornaments are executed with the minutest perfection—small birds of variegated plumage perched on graceful foliage of green enamel, with flowers in their natural colours, so executed as closely to resemble nature. The birds, flowers, and foliage are connected with the chords of the harp, and conceal from view small vases or reservoirs set in the framework of the instrument. From these with every touch of the chords a beautiful fragrance is exhaled, the force or delicacy of which depends on the more powerful or gentler strains produced from the instrument.

The instant the player strikes the chords, the little birds open their wings, the flowers quiver in gentle action, and then from the vases are thrown off jets of perfume. The more strongly the chords are touched, the more powerfully does the fragrance play around.

In tender passages the perfume gradually dies away, till it becomes so faint as to be appreciated only by the most delicate organizations. The result, however, is, that the sense is gratified, the heart touched, and the whole soul is elevated.

As the Tootmanyoso generally speaks with an eye to our earth, shall we hazard a conjecture that in the description of the fruit vegetable "Allmanyuka" he intends a parable for the edification of teetotalers, hinting that before they attempt utterly to banish alcohol, they had better invent some wholesome stimulant with which even the most ardent advocate of permissive licences would not presume to interfere?

When we conclude with stating that the chapters, forty-seven in number, describe (*inter alia*) a suspended mountain which threatened to tumble down and crush all Montalluyah, till the Tootmanyoso propped it up with a colossal mountain-supporter,

the extensive use made of the microscope, the detection of incipient insanity, the rules observed in regulating the choice of a husband, the marriage ceremony, the language of flowers, elaborated to a high degree of perfection, the means employed for the cultivation of babyhood, ships of swan-like form that are incapable of sinking, and the hippopotamus, we have said enough to show that this odd book possesses at least the charm of variety, and is likely to contain hints on a vast number of subjects of interest to mankind.

MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.*

THE general plan of these volumes leaves little to be desired in point of illustration. The first half of the first volume consists of an introduction, with an appendix to the introduction, and a copious chronological table of letters and documents, in which every paper printed in both volumes has been carefully epitomized and chronicled; after which follow notes to the chronological table, in which the editor has justified some of the tentative dates assigned to letters either wholly without date or without any other clue than the subscription of the day of the month. We have then a further supplement to the introduction, and a comparative table of documents according to their sequence in the volume. Again, more than half of the second volume is taken up with an "appendix of documents," a "glossary of rare words, and index of places less commonly known," a "biographical index, and a general index. What more, we thought, could possibly be desired? Still we are bound to say that upon closer inspection we did not find that the execution of the work quite fulfilled the expectations we had formed. It is, however, we believe, Mr. George Williams's first venture in this series, and while several points strike us as open to criticism, we by no means wish to depreciate his editorial work, or to have it inferred that there is any probability that a subsequent publication from the same editor's hands will not be everything that could be desired. We have to object to details of arrangement, and we must note various marks of haste in the getting up of these volumes. In the first place, the appendix to the introduction consists of documents which ought to have found their way into the body of the work, whereas the supplement to the introduction should have been incorporated with it, and the chronological table of letters and documents is considerably diminished in value by the fact that it is not chronological except as regards letters and documents which are dated and give evidence of their own. In the first fifty pages the papers are in their proper order; in the last twenty they are arranged in the table in the order in which they appear in the volume. The plea for this is that these letters are undated, or that their dates can only be doubtfully or approximately fixed; and yet the dates of the greater part of them are perfectly ascertainable as far as the year is concerned. Some even may be tied down to a particular month and day, and some have the date and address on them in full, whilst again several of those which appear in the chronological series have been placed there from conjecture. Again, we think it a mistake to class together a glossary of rare words and an index of places less commonly known; neither do we understand the editor's idea of "places less commonly known," if Agen, capital of the department Lot-et-Garonne, is to be ranked among them. Moreover the explanations given of some of the really rare words hardly satisfy us. For instance, the first word in the index—*Accateria*—is explained as meaning the exchequer. Now this is identical with the English word *acetry*, which is not the same with exchequer, but has usually a special reference to provisions, such as come under the province of a house steward. We may, in passing, observe that we have come across many misprints which are not noticed amongst the *Corrigenda*; and Mr. Williams is sometimes even too laborious in explaining the methods by which he reaches his conclusions. It must often happen that an editor has great difficulty in fixing the dates of letters, but when he is satisfied that there remains no longer any room for doubt, it is often a work of supererogation to put before his readers the whole process of investigation which has resulted in his own satisfaction. An instance in point occurs as regards the letters which passed between Bekynton, in the second year of his consecration, and the Abbot of Glastonbury, the date of which is fixed beyond all reasonable doubt by that of two other letters which appear in the appendix, and which, if they had appeared in the body of the work, instead of in the appendix, would have carried their own evidence of date with them. As one of them happens to be dated Sunday, August 22, there is scarcely any appreciable difficulty in assigning it to the year 1445, and the editor need not have complicated the matter by informing us that August 22 fell on a Sunday in 1456, after the Abbot, to whom the letter was addressed, was dead and buried. As regards the style of printing adopted, we have the same fault to find which we have so often before noticed in the volumes of this series. Latin words should be presented in the style in which they were usually written, and as they appear in

the MS. from which they are printed, and not be spelled so as to accommodate them to the Latin of the Augustan age. If there were no other objection to the correction of such words as *dampnum* into *damnum*, the difficulty of correctly carrying out the practice would, we think, be conclusive against it. Instances may be seen throughout both these volumes. We may instance one such in the variation of the word that was intended to be *antidota*, which occurs twice. In the one instance it is given as in the MS. *antidoda*, and no notice of the error is taken (for in this instance it is a mere error of the scribe). In the second occurrence of the same word it is by another error of the scribe spelled *antidoda*, but here Mr. Williams has corrected the text, and added a note stating what the reading of the MS. is. When we have added that the introduction seems to us deficient in method, we have finished the series of complaints which we have to make with respect to these valuable volumes.

For, indeed, they are entitled to be called valuable, both for their contents and for the great pains bestowed upon them by one whose heart has evidently been in his work. Probably no one unconnected with Eton and with King's would have taken so much interest and spent so much time and labour in editing Bekynton's official correspondence. The introduction contains a full account of the sources from which the volume is derived, a life of Bekynton, who was the writer of the greater part of the documents contained in it, and two other sections illustrative respectively of the domestic history and of the foreign relations of England during the fifteenth century. The greater part of these volumes has been edited from a MS., on vellum, in the Lambeth Library, of the fifteenth century, and therefore almost, or quite, contemporary with the events detailed in it. This the editor supposes to have been compiled under the direction of Bekynton himself, part of it belonging to the time when he was Archdeacon of Bucks, and part to the time when he held the bishopric of Bath and Wells. By far the most curious document in this volume is a copy of a draft of the compact between the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester that they will bear true allegiance to the King, and assist each other with all brotherly affection, and will enter into no other compacts without the consent of both parties. Towards the end of the document, in that part of it which is intended for the attestation of the witnesses, it purports to be an agreement between the two Dukes on the one hand and Catherine, the Queen's mother, on the other. It is printed in the order in which it appears in the MS., on folio 50-52, between two documents which bear date respectively 1441 and 1442. It is unfortunately not dated, and probably never was really executed; at least no tidings of any such stipulation have reached us from any other quarter; and no argument as to its date can be derived from its position in the Lambeth volume, which, though frequently following the order of events, occasionally also deviates from it. It is of course of a date many years earlier than its position would indicate, for the Duke of Bedford died in 1435. The editor has placed it in his (so-called) chronological table without any suggestion as to its date. We can only conjecture that it is very early, possibly in the very first year of the reign. But the allusion which it contains to the seniority of the Duke of Bedford, and the reverence due to him on that score from the Duke of Gloucester, leads us to suppose that the document is of prior date to the enactments in Parliament of the year 1422 that the former should be Protector during his residence in England, and that during Bedford's absence as Regent of France the Duke of Gloucester should enjoy the prerogative of Protector in his own right. And we will observe that, in common with all the other documents in this index, it is very fully analysed and described; the only fault we have to find with this index being that it contains about seventy letters placed in the order in which they happen to occur in the text, instead of being inserted as nearly as possible in their proper order of time.

We proceed to notice a document of about twenty years later date, when the infant King was about attaining his majority. The journal of Thomas Bekynton on his third embassy to Gascony in 1442 is printed from a MS. belonging to the Ashmolean Collection at Oxford. Wharton refers to this diary as being at that time in the register of Charles Booth, Bishop of Hereford. The editor thinks that Wharton only knew of this volume by report, because he speaks of the journal as having been written by Bekynton, which it plainly is not, and also because he makes no allusion to the rest of the contents of the volume. This latter argument falls to the ground, unless the copy from which this transcript was made is identical with that which was once in Booth's register. On this point we can offer no opinion. The loss of that volume, which contained the registers of Booth, Fox, and Boser, who were successively Bishops of Hereford, is much to be regretted, as there is good reason to suppose that no bishops' registers of that time were kept so well as these. How a journal of 1422 ever found its way into a bishop's register of a century later, we must leave to others to determine. But there this document, or another copy of it, certainly was when Wharton wrote the dedication to his *Anglia Sacra* in 1689. The present is the first publication of the diary in the original Latin; but a translation of it made by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas was published in 1828, and a French translation made from the English version appeared in the *Indicateur*, a Bordeaux journal, in 1842. The contents of it relate to a subject of which history has taken little notice—namely, the embassy sent in June 1442 to the Count of Armagnac to contract a marriage between Henry VI. and one of the Count's unmarried daughters. It was evidently

* *Memorials of the Reign of King Henry VI.* Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to King Henry VI., and Bishop of Bath and Wells. Edited from a MS. in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by George Williams, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. 2 vols. London: Longmans & Co. 1872.

a piece of policy on the English side to cement an alliance with a native prince which might tend to render more secure the power of the King in the South of France, which was already tottering to its fall. But we learn from Bekynton's journal that the first motion came from the Count himself, and that the proposal was followed by the sending Sir Robert Roos, Sir Edward Hull, and Bekynton, recently appointed Secretary to the King, with a commission empowering them to contract the marriage with one of the three daughters of the Count, who, however, is not named. This commission is dated May 28, 1442, and Bekynton started from Windsor on his mission June 5, and after being joined by his colleagues, set sail from Plymouth on the 10th of July. The reason of the delay of the journey is sufficiently curious. The King, it appears, was afraid of being tied down to one particular lady whom upon seeing he might not fancy, and so issued fresh instructions to the envoys to the effect that they were to make their choice among the three young ladies. But whatever advantage was likely to accrue to the Count of Armagnac from the English alliance, the English soon began to cool in their project. Nothing was likely to be gained by a connexion with a family one part of which, including the Count's eldest son, the Viscount of Lomagne, was fighting with Charles VII. against England. Negotiations, however, proceeded for many months, and an artist was sent for from England to execute portraits of the three ladies from whom the King was to make his choice. Meanwhile the English were gradually losing ground in France, and it became plain that the alliance in a political point of view would be wholly unprofitable. So the ambassadors took their leave at the beginning of January 1443, and in the second week of February landed at Falmouth, and proceeded to inform the King of the entire failure of their negotiations.

The appendix of documents contains several contributions in illustration of the history of the period. But the account of the MSS. from which they are derived is sadly mixed up with the biography of Bekynton, and the discussion of the dates of certain letters. This is much to be regretted, for the introduction is full of instructive matter, which, owing to these constant dislocations, is propounded in a needlessly perplexing form. We cannot bestow too much praise on the unsparing trouble taken by the editor in getting up these volumes; and any one who will compare the document which we have been describing with the English version of the same, as published by Sir N. Harris Nicolas, will see some of the valuable results of the editor's diligence. Mr. Williams notices the mistakes in the proper names of places and persons which occur in this version, and modestly ascribes the superior accuracy of the present edition of the journal

to the happy accident which submitted the sheets when they were already prepared for publication to the revision of M. Francisque Michel, whose intimate acquaintance with the language and literature of France in the middle ages, joined to a minute knowledge of Bordeaux and its neighbourhood, acquired during a residence there of thirty years, enabled him to detect at a glance numerous inaccuracies, which had been too confidently copied from the pages of Sir H. Nicolas.

There is another document, in producing which Mr. Williams has done similar good service—namely, the extracts in No. CCLXXXV. from the *Dialogue in Praise of William of Wykeham*, from a MS. in the library of New College, Oxford. Several passages which are here reproduced had been previously printed by Henry Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*, and, with an inaccuracy very uncommon in this accomplished and laborious scholar, had been mistaken by him as applying to Bekynton, whereas they really refer to Thomas Chaundler, Chancellor of Wells. Wharton printed from a copy in the Cotton Collection, and fell into several blunders from sheer inattention to the matter which he was copying; and many of these, we regret to say, because it detracts from Wharton's well-deserved fame, are scarcely excusable on the plea kindly set up for him by Mr. Williams—namely, "that the biographical notices of the Bishop and Chancellor are so mixed up with the philosophical disquisitions that it is not easy to disentangle them; and as he has brought together in a continuous narrative the passages relating to both, without any intimation of the *lacuna*, the consequence of this omission of only a few words has been to fuse the two biographies into one."

In conclusion, notwithstanding the criticism which we have not scrupled to pass on various details of his work, we may offer Mr. Williams our thanks and congratulations for the valuable addition which he has made to the series of historical works published under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls.

FALSE CARDS.*

MR. HAWLEY SMART is a writer whose novels are always welcome to the reviewer. He is not ambitious. He makes no especial pretension to a moral or a purpose. He writes primarily to amuse; very often he succeeds, and he is seldom or never dull. His aim is lightness and brightness. His style is easy without being slipshod. His knowledge of life is comprehensive if not profound, though in places it does remind us a little too much of Ouida and the author of *Guy Livingston*; and although he may be most at home among men and among the better classes of Bohemians,

he can sketch attractive and womanly women. Yet we cannot say that as a writer he grows upon us; no one of his later books has equalled his earliest in freshness, and in our opinion *Breezie Langton* still remains by far his strongest title to reputation. There was much that was inartistic in it, as must always be the case when a clever man with a fertile fancy and without experience sets himself to tell his first story. Almost inevitably he dwells unduly on detail, or loses himself as he wanders into fascinating episode; he lets himself write much that is clever and misplaced, and then he has not the heart to retrench it on revision. But these sins against the stricter canons of the critics are very venial in the eyes of the reader, and, after all, it is his readers a writer writes for. If we are in really pleasant company we do not mind turning aside out of our way; we are supposed to be travelling through the book for pleasure, not hurrying along with an object. So, if *Breezie Langton* was somewhat discursive, we bore Mr. Smart no grudge on that account. He had kept us merrily on the move all along; we had had a good deal of "excellent fooling," and of pretty and rather touching love-making; and among the many distractions of some fictions that were better and very many that were worse, we retained pleasant memories of the author and his heroine.

We have met Mr. Smart more than once since then, and although he has always kept us in good humour, he has never quite fulfilled his first promise. Perhaps he raised our hopes unduly, but assuredly our prepossessions were all in his favour, and we took up his books prepared to laugh and to like. We cannot say that he has developed the originality of which we had suspected him; and if we are inclined to rank *False Cards* next to *Breezie Langton*, it is because the most telling points of this last novel seem to be borrowed from his first. The heroines, for instance, have a good deal in common in the circumstances of their lives as well as in their characters, and Lettice Cheslett reminds us agreeably of Breezie Langton. Lettice has her lot cast apart from her sex; she has learned nothing of the conventionalities of society, and in the frankest innocence compromises herself with its proprieties. She has enjoyed no more congenial companionship than that of an old and somewhat penurious grandfather. The instincts of her inborn delicacy are safe guides through many real dangers; yet they do not save her from becoming the victim of appearances, and her innocence and unprotected condition awaken our interest and appeal to our sympathies. It is the accident of a chance acquaintance she has formed that will decide her fate; and although we have a reasonable confidence that all will end happily, yet the subsidiary interest of the plot turns partly on her behaviour in trying circumstances, partly on that of the lover whom she has made the master of her destiny. Mr. Hawley Smart has evidently a strong artistic sympathy with the clever, good-hearted, somewhat reckless citizens of Bohemia. His writing plainly becomes a labour of love when he invites us to accompany Charlie Collingham to the office of the *Morning Misanthrope*, or takes us home to the room which that rising young journalist occupies in common with his friend the dramatic author. Perhaps even there Mr. Smart uses the privilege of the romancer and idealizes. At least we do not altogether believe in writers of real power turning out their daily tale of work with the phlegm and in the matter-of-fact manner in which a journeyman baker might draw his batch of hot bread from the oven. We suspect that few aspiring writers and dramatists are so happily thick-skinned as to be impervious to the most savage criticisms, and merely "take it out in tobacco smoke" when other men would be stung. Yet perhaps there is nothing intrinsically improbable in that fortunate blending of sensibility, stoicism, and epicurism; and Mr. Smart's literary gentlemen strike us as very real existences. We can scarcely say as much for Mr. Lightfoot, the professional scamp; yet although we believe Mr. Lightfoot to be purely fictitious, we must confess that the pains Mr. Smart has employed in his elaboration have created one of the most amusing characters in the volume. Mr. Lightfoot lives by his wits and the weaknesses of human nature. He systematically studies the advertisements in the daily journals in search of anything he may turn to his advantage. When in funds himself, he advertises under a variety of aliases, and figures in a Protean infinity of shapes, sowing broadcast that he may reap plentifully. His graceful and clever wife is a helpmate for him. For himself, he is a man of boundless resource and unfailing presence of mind. He has the tact of a man of the world, and bears the stamp of excellent society. He always says the right thing at the right moment, argues closely and logically, and is enough of a lawyer to give a shrewd guess at the lengths he may go without compromising himself with the authorities. Although playing a subordinate part, he figures perhaps more conspicuously than any one else. In the opening chapter we find him civilly baffling a bench of dignified magistrates who have him under examination, and who, after thinking they hold him fast, are disgusted to see him slip through their fingers. Mr. Lightfoot, indeed, is never so great as in moments of extremity, when he can display the fertility of resource and promptitude of resolution on which he prides himself. So when he turns amateur detective the shrewdest officer of the regular force is compelled to acknowledge him as his master. In short, Mr. Lightfoot is the Admirable Crichton of scamps and rogues; with his matchless gifts he might have shone in the Senate or led at the Bar; but if he is fantastically improbable, he is not the less amusing.

When he takes us out of Bohemia and Alsatia Mr. Smart leaves the ground on which he is strongest. In the world of respectability

* *False Cards*. By Hawley Smart, Author of "*Breezie Langton*," &c. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1872.

the story becomes comparatively commonplace and the characters tame, although there is a fairly solid plot, and a lady who makes all the mischief in her power. The scenes are laid between London and the small provincial town of Aldringham, chiefly in the latter. Two families figure prominently. One is that of Mr. Holbourne, the wealthy banker, who resides in an old-fashioned mansion in Aldringham. He has a son Reginald, a very handsome daughter Grace, and a niece Marion Langworthy, who, as we surmise at once, is to be the *deus ex machina* destined to work the mischief in the plot. The other family is that of the Collinghams of Churton Manor; and it likewise consists of four members. There are Sir John the father, a blind daughter Sylla, an elder son Robert, with whom we have little to do, and the younger one Charles, who figures with Reginald Holbourne as joint hero and leading lover. Charles is desperately in love with Grace Holbourne, and the young lady returns his passion. Reginald used to be in love with his cousin Marion Langworthy, and that designing and cold-blooded damsel still holds him to his engagement, although she is fully determined to throw him over should circumstances render it desirable. In the house where he lodges in London Reginald stumbles across Lettice Cheslett; he is taken first by her sweet face and girlish candour, and then drifts gradually into a warm attachment which is fanned by circumstances into a passion. The course of their true love could hardly have run very smooth in any case, for the old and pompous banker at Aldringham is not the man to welcome a daughter-in-law with neither money nor connexion. But the jealousy of Miss Langworthy, employing Lightfoot as her instrument, takes care to trouble it effectually, and condemns poor Lettice to very hard times and a long series of trials. Grace Holbourne and Charles Collingham have their anxieties too. There is a deadly breach between the young man and his proud old father, owing to an unfortunate misunderstanding which seems unlikely to be cleared up, and in the meantime Charlie has betaken himself to journalism for a livelihood. The couple of love stories are well told, and there is a good deal of incident to break the tender monotony of the billing and cooing. In either case Marion Langworthy figures as the evil genius, although her intrigues hurry Grace Holbourne into an elopement and a happy marriage. Marion has approached her uncle by his weak side, until at last she has taught him to see with her eyes and hear with her ears. His daughter's position becomes so miserable that Collingham persuades her to trust herself to him while his prospects are still very precarious. Being moved by spite and jealousy, Marion's machinations against Lettice Cheslett and the faithless Reginald are even more audacious. It is jealousy, we may presume, that makes her forget her natural prudence, and be fool enough to trust herself and her reputation to the tender mercies of the unscrupulous Mr. Lightfoot. When she employs that intelligent gentleman as her agent, she at once makes him her master. So, again, there is an audacity foreign to her quiet scheming disposition when she presents herself to Lettice in Reginald's absence, and, by appealing adroitly to the girl's pride and to her fears for her lover, persuades her to take to flight, leaving no trace behind her. We are inclined to say that, had Miss Langworthy been reasonably consistent, she would have been guilty neither of the one imprudence nor the other. But the actions of a woman whose vanity is touched are even more unaccountable than those of a woman passionately in love. In any case we must admit that there is no violent improbability in the extravagance of behaviour which lends the story its excitement.

Having so much evil in her character, and more hardihood and decision than fortunately fall as a rule to the share of her sex, naturally Marion is the most sensational of the characters. She is far from being the most interesting, for she never engages our sympathies. She has no heart; we feel her to be cold and calculating. Not only has she no love for her cousin Reginald, to whom she is engaged, and towards whom she indulges in effusive outbursts of sentiment when he appears to be likely to burst away from her fetters, but she cares nothing for the uncle who treats her as a daughter and loads her with kindness and gifts; nor for her cousin Grace, who has been used to regard her as a sister, until she finds her playing the cuckoo in the hedge-sparrow's nest and ousting her out of her father's affections. Lettice Cheslett, on the other hand, is in all respects the very reverse of Marion. Lettice knows little of the world even for her tender years; she has had no experience of what the world calls society; she is one of Byron's bread-and-butter misses. Yet we not only take a fancy to her from the first, as we might to a pretty, confiding child, but we learn to admire and respect her before we take leave of her. The nearest approach to genuine art in the story lies in the passages where Mr. Smart indicates the mutual influence for good of a man and a girl strongly attached to each other. Lettice is disturbed in the midst of the passionate pleasure she finds in the consciousness of being fondly loved by a man she has regarded as a demigod. While all the fibres of her heart are still thrilling to the shock, she sacrifices herself and her newborn passion to what she fancies to be his real interest. So sharp is the internal struggle that she nearly succumbs to it. Nor does her lover prove unworthy of her, for her devotion reacts upon him, and transforms and elevates him. Perhaps the transition is somewhat violent, which not only makes a selfish man unselfish of a sudden, but converts a light and irresolute character into one marked by unflinching determination of purpose. Yet we can conceive the thing possible, were the consciousness of the worth of a girl like Lettice to im-

press itself deeply on a susceptible nature terribly agitated by the dread of losing her. As for Grace Holbourne, she is a handsome, amiable, and very loving woman, and that is all. There is nothing marked in any of the other characters, although they are more than presentable as they flit about in the background. Perhaps the best is Mr. Holbourne the banker, with his pompous manners, his ostentatious deference to persons more highly placed than himself, and his rather vulgar consciousness of his own proud position as local magnate and millionaire. The one we like the least is Polly Meggott, a sprightly young female, who "does" for Charles Collingham and his friend in their rooms, relieving the monotony of their domestic retirement with "chaff" that must have jarred upon natures less irrepressibly cheerful. The plot, although slight, holds the story well together. The solution of the mystery that has weighed on the life of Charles Collingham is almost too simple, nor does retributive justice fall sufficiently heavily on Marion Langworthy, whose hatred and malice have caused so much unhappiness. But with its judicious mixture of the grave, the gay, and the tender, the book is to be recommended as one that may be run lightly through, with very little necessity for skipping.

AMERICAN LITERATURE.

THE peculiar economical and social position of the United States, and the minuteness with which the Census registers at the close of each decade every particular of their development, render its records among the most interesting of statistical works, though far too cumbrous for popular reading. If the results were summarized in a small volume, with a few pages of text pointing out the most striking and significant features of the national stock-taking, accompanied by about a score of tables giving the chief particulars for the several States and Territories, with the totals for the Union at large, and in certain cases for each of its great natural divisions, we can conceive few economic records more thoroughly acceptable, or more likely to attract universal attention. As the figures are presented in the official returns—by far the greater part of the tables being made out by counties, or even smaller subdivisions which are scarcely known or heeded beyond the immediate neighbourhood, with a deficiency of totals and of summarized tables enabling the reader to compare the larger masses at a single glance—the volumes are matter for painful search and study rather than for that easy mastery of facts which best conduces to their rapid acquisition and convenient digestion. Thus the first volume*, now before us, gives in eight hundred quarto pages of small print, spread over lengthy tables and "meandering through" wastes of blank columns, information the real substance of which, so far as it concerns or interests the general public, might be concentrated into some forty or fifty pages of a handy size and convenient type. This elaboration of detail is doubtless necessary and proper; but surely the digest we desire might be placed at the beginning or end of each volume, and spare the ordinary reader the trouble of looking further, except perhaps to search the detailed records of his own State or county. The "historical notes" and other explanatory portions of the volume, though important and useful, in nowise supply the lack of such a compact and instantly available summary. But the materials, though imperfectly digested, are ample beyond precedent, and, if not complete according to the ideal of the census-takers, seem marvellously abundant to those who find, after sufficient search, almost any statistical information they can desire for any purpose, practical or speculative. In this, as in all other cases where the collection and diffusion of knowledge respecting their country is in question, the democratic Government of America shows no sign of that tendency to parsimony which seems to be an ingrained characteristic of English Liberalism; nor do the people manifest any of that jealousy of official inquiries, that antipathy to Government "intrusion into their private business," which is so marked a feature of the stolid conservatism of English daily life and English habits of thought. The figures of this volume, though confined to "population and social statistics," contain matter that might well furnish the theme of half-a-dozen careful articles. The traces of the war still linger in its pages, though less perceptible here than in those which register the decline of Southern wealth. The white population of some of the Southern States, like Alabama and South Carolina, has actually declined since 1860, and that of others remains stationary. This is not due to exhaustion of the soil, or it would show itself rather in the older States, like Virginia; nor can it be ascribed to the ravages of war, for the Border States, which suffered most severely, do not show the same loss of population. We are inclined to believe that misgovernment and negro supremacy have much to do with it, as the States which remain stationary or fall back are those in which the ascendancy of Northern adventurers and native freedmen is most marked. The negroes do not seem to be very great gainers. Their numbers have increased in ten years by about ten per cent.; the natural increase, according to the Census

* *Ninth Census*. Vol. I. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, embracing the Tables of Race, Nationality, Sex, Selected Ages, and Occupations. To which are added the Statistics of School Attendance and Illiteracy, of Schools, Libraries, Newspapers, and Periodicals, Churches, Pauperism and Crime, and of Areas, Families, and Dwellings. Compiled from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870), under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior, by Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of Census. Washington: Government Printing Office. London: Trübner & Co. 1870.

authorities, should have been twenty-five. So far, then, as population is a test of the wholesomeness of institutions, the black race has not profited by emancipation. The process, or its consequences, may be regarded as answerable for a deficit of 600,000 lives in a population which should have reached five millions. In the North the foreign-born population is the element whose abnormal development influences the figures of the Census. We find the Irish-born, though far short of the monstrous estimates of some among themselves, the most numerous, reaching to above 1,800,000; the Germans come next with 1,600,000; then some 550,000 English. The Chinese, mostly confined to the Pacific Coast, and to particular districts there, only number some 62,000. It is worth notice that the excess of men over women is infinitely less than in even our older colonies, and less than might have been expected in a country where so large a fraction of the population are immigrants. Above ten years of age there are fourteen millions and a quarter of males, and almost fourteen millions of females. Another table, not without its interest, gives the churches, sittings, and property of each religious community. First come the Methodists, with six millions and a half of sittings and nearly seventy millions of dollars; next the Regular Baptists (largely negroes, we believe), with four millions of sittings and forty million dollars; Presbyterians, rather more than two million seats, and rather less than forty-eight million dollars; and the Roman Catholics, whose figures are about two and sixty respectively. The last, it will be seen, are thrice as rich in proportion to the number of sittings as most of the others; their churches will barely accommodate the Irish-born population. The Unitarians and Universalists, few in number, are also wealthy. The average, it will be observed, is about ten dollars per seat; but the Unitarians have forty, and the Universalists twenty-five. The Jewish ratio is one to seventy. The Episcopalians have less than one million seats, and more than thirty-six millions of endowments, being, as is well known, the richest of the sects whose numbers are at all considerable. The local distribution of sects, indicated in an earlier table, is a remarkable fact, and would afford scope for a good many historical and speculative inquiries. Altogether, there are few works more suggestive to the political student, as there are few more tedious to the careless reader, than the records of a Census; and, whether on account of the character of the facts, or of the fulness with which they are collected and set forth, no Census is equal in interest to that of the United States. The Census volume includes several useful maps, showing the density of population and the distribution of particular elements. We have also received in a separate form a complete series of the maps belonging to the Census; and they illustrate very clearly the distribution of races, of crops, of diseases, and of education. It is perhaps a defect that in showing the distribution of the different races—German, Irish, Black, &c.—they mark only the number on a square mile, and not the proportion to population generally, so that the parts most deeply tinted may be those where the proportion is smallest, and those most lightly coloured may mark a settlement almost exclusively German or Irish.

Next to this great volume in size and weight, and perhaps, of all the volumes on our list, furthest removed from it in character and value, is Dr. Dowling's *History of Romanism** "from the earliest corruptions of Christianity" down to the proclamation of Papal Infallibility. The author has amassed a good many effective quotations from Roman Catholic and other authors, in proof either of charges of moral enormities which the accused, if they cannot deny, would be glad to palliate, or of doctrines which seem to him as bad or worse, but which Ultramontanists at least would accept and maintain as the boast rather than the reproach of their community. The way in which the two are classed together as of pretty equal atrocity, the bitter partisanship which manifests itself in every page, and assumes that the Church of Rome was from the first as useless and her influence as noxious as in ages when civilization had outgrown its leading-strings, the bias visible in each statement and each inference, and the manner in which such epithets as "anti-Christian" are scattered up and down through nine hundred pages, may gratify the author's theological hatred, and perhaps quicken the passions of those who feel as he does; but with those who have yet to acquire his prejudices, and especially with the young, the only effect of such a style must be to set them on their guard against the writer, and dispose them to a sort of antagonistic sympathy for the object of such wearisome and venomous attacks. The "Emblematic Title-page," and the preface which explains it, exhibit the temper of the author's school in no amiable light. The figures of two Reformers unveil a Papal cathedral menaced by celestial lightnings, while the Pope tramples on the Bible, encourages assassins, and sells abolition, and his mitred supporters hide their faces before the invectives of a black-robed Protestant preacher. This absurd frontispiece, which is evidently a subject of special pride to the author, reminds us of a picture of the Last Judgment, lately exposed in a London shop-window, in which a co-religionist of Dr. Dowling's had taken occasion to vent his own theological animosities in a similar manner, and to consign Popes and cardinals,

monks and nuns, exclusively to the regions of despair on the left of the Throne.

*Myths and Myth-Makers** is the title of a modest treatise of very unpretending dimensions, in which the "solar theory," as it is called, is explained in popular terms, and the alleged origin of the favourite legends of Aryan nations in celestial and meteorological phenomena set forth so simply that it can hardly fail to make an impression upon the minds of those who come fresh to the subject. The interpretation of some of the wildest and most weird traditions of German and Scandinavian folklore by reference to elemental phenomena, and to the phrases under which these have been personified, gives novelty and consistency to the solar explanation of classic mythology and mediæval legend. That the lightning is the mystic plant, rod, or serpent, which opens subterranean caves and admits the favourite hero to appropriate buried treasures—Ali Baba's *sesame*, and the original of the divining rod—is an ingenious and plausible offshoot of the general principle of elemental mythopoeisis; while in the case of the superstitions attaching to rats and mice, of which several are quoted, the author shows himself capable of seeking a sound interpretation outside the ordinary limits of his theory. Perhaps the weakest part of his book is that which relates to the werewolf superstition; for while he repeats the well-known explanation how the Greek "light-born" Apollo and his mythic relatives came, by a mere etymological blunder, to be figured as wolves, and the "bright" stars as "bears," he fails to find any relation between these and the parallel superstitions of Northern Europe, where no etymological confusion can explain the transformation of men and women into wild beasts, and especially into wolves. But altogether the book is a very readable popular treatise on an interesting subject, and the writer does not endanger his theory, so much as some of his predecessors have done, by forcing it into places which it cannot possibly fit, and using it to unlock mysteries of which it clearly does not supply the appropriate key.

The lady who recorded the experiences of an English Governess at the Siamese Court† gives us in the "*Romance of Harem Life*" a series of stories of Siamese royalty and its *entourage*, the adventures of ladies attached to the royal harem, their errors and their punishment, which, whatever their other merits, are certainly as sensational as the most enthusiastic admirer of Miss Braddon could desire, and ugly and horrible enough to give the nightmare to those precocious *blasés* children of modern days on whom the simple horrors of the old ballads are powerless, and who can read the *Mysteries of Udolpho* or the *Castle of Otranto* without disturbing the rest of their nudes. False taste, false fine writing, false sentiment abound throughout. The stories themselves are professedly true in substance; and they may, for aught we can see, be a pretty fair reproduction of the tales that a foreigner, supposed by sex and by faith to sympathize with the fugitive slaves of the seraglio, might be likely to hear. Only when a Siamese lady enslaves herself and finally incurs a death of torture in order to procure for her husband the royal concubine on whom he had set his heart, we confess that our credulity is a little staggered. The book is not a pleasant one; but it contains some striking pictures of a life of which Englishmen know little or nothing, and of the condition of women under circumstances and laws among the most peculiar to be found even in the East.

Miss Edna Proctor's *Russian Journey*‡ is a series of sketches with pen and pencil—of which the latter are generally forcible, and sometimes decidedly good—of various scenes witnessed in the course of a somewhat hasty visit to Russia. The authoress shares that enthusiasm for Russian aggrandizement, Russian despotism, and the "manifest destiny" which ordains that the Romanoffs shall divide the world with the Yankees, which is so common among travelling Americans, and which makes their glorification of their own freedom and their contemptuous pity for the bondage of European nations so ludicrous in English eyes. When we came to find Alexander II. celebrated through several pages as "the Prince of the Free," we could not but look back to the beginning of the volume we had just laid down, where we read that the realms of the irresponsible despot of Siam rejoice in the title of the "Kingdom of the Free." It is true that Russians have a marvellous capacity for putting things in the best light before foreign visitors, and that American visitors have rarely the leisure or the opportunity to look below the decent surface which it suits their host to display. Yet we hardly expected to find a citizen of the Great Republic selecting as the especial theme of her admiration the freedom enjoyed by the subjects of the Czar.

We have to mention two books of very diverse appearance and pretensions on the same subject—the beauties of the famous Yosemite Valley of California§, with its mountain peaks, its lakes, its waterfalls, its rocks, and, above all, its "mammoth trees."

* *Myths and Myth-Makers: Old Tales and Superstitions interpreted by Comparative Mythology.* By John Fiske, M.A., LL.B., Assistant Librarian and late Lecturer of Philosophy at Harvard University. Boston: Osgood & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1873.

† *The Romance of Siamese Harem Life.* By Mrs. Anna H. Leonowens, Author of the "English Governess at the Siamese Court." Illustrated. Boston: Osgood & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1873.

‡ *A Russian Journey.* By Edna Dean Proctor. With Illustrations. Boston: Osgood & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1873.

§ *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California.* Illustrated with over One Hundred Engravings. By J. M. Hutchings (of Yo-Semite). New York and San Francisco: Roman & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1872.

* *The History of Romanism, from the Earliest Corruptions of Christianity.* With Chronological Tables, Indexes, Glossary, and numerous illustrative Engravings. A New Edition, with Supplements containing the History from the Accession of Pope Pius IX. to his proclamation of Papal Infallibility, and his Deposition as a Temporal Sovereign, A.D. 1870. By John Dowling, D.D. New York: Edward Walker. London: Trübner & Co.

The one is little more than a guide-book of somewhat superior quality; the other* is a volume that might lie on any drawing-room table, containing a number of photographic views of the chief wonders of the Valley, splendidly got up, and accompanied by a letter-press of equally ambitious character. As books to be read, neither of the two has much to recommend it; but from either, by judicious skipping, the reader may gather some idea of the natural marvels of that beautiful scene—if by any chance, during the years through which they have been extolled with all the powers of American exaggeration, he has not happened to hear enough of them already.

We must not omit to notice another couple of volumes, each a curiosity in its way, on the favourite topic of American thought; elaborate rituals of the national dollar worship. *Money and How to Make It*† discusses at length the various occupations, agricultural, manufacturing, commercial, and professional, which are open to a youth wishing to attain that object of universal desire, and describes in detail the nature of each, the advantages and drawbacks it presents, and the conditions of success in it. It undertakes not only to assist his choice between different pursuits—on which the writer does not dwell very largely—but to instruct him in at least the elementary principles of each, and to furnish him with a variety of maxims, moral and practical, for his guidance therein; and, in short, is something between a Guide to Professions and an introductory encyclopædia of industry. *Getting On in the World*‡ is a treatise of more moderate scope and more attainable purpose; its object being merely to indicate the general principles of practical prudence, the considerations that should govern a man's choice of a career, and the qualities and circumstances on which success in life generally depends. The author's mind is curiously divided between a desire to discourage belief in "luck" as a creed of mischievous moral tendency, and a firm faith in its reality which is proof even against algebraic demonstration and some acquaintance with the theory of probabilities.

Dr. Harman's *Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land*§ is a work of the average quality of an American traveller's narrative, his own journal being the framework into which are inserted the quotations, reflections, and recollections, historical and other, that fill up the meagre skeleton to the dimensions of a moderate volume, and completely hide the dry bones of the ground-plan.

We do not often touch upon works purely theological, but we may just mention Mr. Collyer's volume of sermons, published under the title of *The Life that Now Is*||, as a very favourable specimen of that homely taste for practical illustration, that disposition to realize sacred principles by means of familiar images and ideas, which is characteristic of American, and especially of New England, preachers, and has led some of them very far astray. Mr. Collyer's homely simplicity is accompanied by true reverence and sound taste, and renders this volume as good a specimen of the practical type of American preaching as we have recently seen.

The works of fiction on our list are, as usual, more numerous than any other class of books. The author of *Camping Out* carries his boy-heroes through two more volumes¶ of adventure, very readable, but hardly so lifelike or so real as the first series. *His Level Best*** is the title of a short story which gives its name to a volume of wild, laughable, lively tales; and *A Comedy of Terrors*†† aspires to be at once sensational and comic, through about the usual length of a two-volume English novel.

* *The Wonders of the Yosemite Valley and of California*. By Samuel Kneland, A.M., M.D., Professor of Zoology in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. With Original Photographic Illustrations. By John P. Soule. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. Boston: Moore, Lee, & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. London: Trübner & Co. 1872.

† *A Book for the People: Money and How to Make It*. Comprising the History of Money, the general Principles of Money-making, with definite Directions for successfully conducting nearly all kinds of Business; to which are added Money in the Professions; how Working-men may make Money; Woman's Part in making Money; a Talk with Boys about Earning and Saving Money; how Parents should mould the Money-getting desire in their Children; with Suggestions as to Lending Money, and the Expenditure thereof to meet family needs, &c., &c., &c. By H. L. Reade. New York: John P. Jewett. London: Trübner & Co. 1872.

‡ *Getting On in the World; or, Hints on Success in Life*. By William Mathews, LL.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Chicago. Chicago: Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1873.

§ *A Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land, in 1869-1870*. By Henry M. Harman, D.D., Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1873.

|| *The Life that Now Is*. Sermons by Robert Collyer, Author of "Nature and Life." Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. London: Trübner & Co. 1872.

¶ *Our Young Yachters' Series*. Vol. II. Left on Labrador; or, the Cruise of the Schooner Yacht "Curlew." As Recorded by "Wash." Edited by C. A. Stephens. Illustrated. Boston: Osgood & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1872.

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** *His Level Best; and other Stories*. By Edward E. Hale. Boston: Osgood & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1872.

†† *A Comedy of Terrors*. By James de Mille, Author of "The Dodge Club," &c., &c. Boston: Osgood & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1872.

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